Cooper (A. A.) 10920

LETTERS

OF THE EARL OF

SHAFTESBURY,

AUTHOR OF THE

CHARACTERISTICKS,

COLLECTED INTO ONE VOLUME.

PRINTED MDCCXLVI.

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COLLECTION OF VOLUME

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LETTERS

OF THE EARL OF

HAFTESBURY

TO A

STUDENT

AT THE

NIVERSITY.

INTED FIRST IN THE YEAR MDCCXVI.

LETTER I.

Feb. 24th, 1706-7.

I ACCEPT kindly the offer of your correſpondence, and chiefly, as it comes from you with heartineſs, and (the beſt of characters) SIMPLICITY. When this diſpoſition of heart attends our ſearches into learning and philoſophy; we need not fear being *vainly puff'd up*, or falling into that falſe way of wiſdom, which the ſcripture calls *vain philoſophy*. When the improvement of our minds, and the advancement of our reaſon, is all we aim at; and this only to fit us for a perfecter, more rational, and worthier ſervice of GOD; we can have no ſcruples, whether or no the work be an acceptable one to him. But where neither our duty to mankind, nor obedience to our CREATOR, is any way the end or object of our ſtudies or exerciſes; be they ever ſo curious or exquiſite, they may be juſtly ſtiled *vain*; and often the vainer, for carrying with them the falſe ſhew of excellence and ſuperiority.

On this account, tho' there be no part of learning more advantageous even towards divinity, than logicks, metaphyſicks, and what we call *univerſity-*

verſity-learning; yet nothing proves more dangerous to young minds unforewarn'd, or, what is worſe, prepoſſeſs'd, with the excellency of ſuch learning; as if all wiſdom lay in the ſolution of thoſe riddles of the ſchool-men, who, in the laſt ages of the church, found out an effectual way to deſtroy religion by philoſophy, and render reaſon and philoſophy ridiculous, under that garb they had put on it. If your circumſtances or condition ſuffer you to enter into the world by a univerſity; well is it for you, that you have prevented ſuch prepoſſeſſion.

However, I am not ſorry, that I lent you Mr. LOCK's *eſſay of humane underſtanding*; which may as well qualify for buſineſs and the world, as for the ſciences and a univerſity. No one has done more towards the recalling of philoſophy from barbarity, into uſe and practice of the world, and into the company of the better and politer ſort; who might well be aſhamed of it in its other dreſs. No one has opened a better or clearer way to *reaſoning*. And above all, I wonder to hear him cenſured ſo much by any church of ENGLAND-men, for advancing reaſon, and bringing the uſe of it ſo much into religion; when it is by this only that we fight againſt the *enthuſiaſts*, and repel the great enemies of our church. 'Tis by this weapon alone that we combat thoſe *viſionaries*, who in the laſt age broke in ſo ſoully upon us, and are now (pretendedly at leaſt) eſteemed ſo terrible and *dangerous*.

But

But tho' I am one of thoſe, who in theſe truly happy times eſteem our church as wholy *out of danger*; yet ſhould we hearken to thoſe men, who diſclaim this uſe of reaſon in religion, we muſt lay our ſelves open afreſh to all phanaticks. For what elſe is PHANATICISM? Where does the ſtreſs of their cauſe lie? Are not their unintelligible motions of the ſpirit; their unexpreſſible pretended feelings, apprehenſions, and lights within; their inſpirations in prophecy, extempore prayer, preaching, *&c.* are not theſe, I ſay, the foundations, on which they build their cauſe? Are not our *cold dead reaſonings*, (as they call them,) a reproach and ſtumbling-block to them; if you will believe their leaders, who are inſtantly cut off from all their pretences to gifts and ſpirits, and ſupernatural graces; if they are once brought to the teſt of cool reaſon and deliberate examination? And can we thus give up our cauſe, by giving up reaſon? Shall we give them up our TILLOTSONS, our BARROWS, our CHILLINGWORTHS, our HAMMONDS? For what leſs is it to give up this way of reaſon ſo much decryed by thoſe condemners of Mr. LOCKE? But ſuch is the ſpirit of ſome men in controverſial matters. A certain noted clergy-man of learning and ability, and great reputed zeal, a great enemy of maſter LOCKE, has (as I am lately told) turn'd rigid *Calviniſt*, as to all the points of *predeſtination, Free-grace, &c.* and not only this clergy-man, but ſeveral more in the univerſity of that

high party, who ran as high in oppoſition to CALVINISM but one reign or two ſince. The reaſon of this is but too obvious. Our biſhops and dignify'd church-men, (the moſt worthily and juſtly dignify'd of any in any age,) are, as they ever were, inclinable to moderation in the high *calviniſtick* points. But they are alſo inclinable to moderation in other points.

Hinc illae lachrymae.

They are for toleration, *inviolable toleration*; (as our QUEEN nobly and *Chriſtianly* ſaid it, in her ſpeech a year or two ſince:) and this is it ſelf intolerable with our high gentlemen, who deſpiſe the gentleneſs of their lord and maſter, and the ſweet mild government of our QUEEN, preferring rather that abominable blaſphemous repreſentative of church power, attended with the worſt of temporal governments, as we ſee it in perfection of each kind in FRANCE. From this, and from its abettors of every kind and in every way, I pray GOD deliver us, whilſt we are duly thankful for what in his providence he has already done towards it, and to the happineſs and glory of our excellent QUEEN and country. So farewel. I am your good friend to ſerve you,

S*******.

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LETTER II.

May 10th, 1707.

SINCE your diſpoſition inclines you ſo ſtrongly towards univerſity-learning; and your ſound exerciſe of your reaſon, and the integrity of your heart, give good aſſurance againſt the narrow principles, and contagious manner of thoſe corrupted places, whence all noble and *free* principles ought rather to be propagated; I ſhall not be wanting to you on my part; when I ſhall ſee the fruit of your ſtudies, life, and converſation, anſwerable to thoſe good ſeeds of principles you ſeem to carry in you.

I am glad to find your love of reaſon and *free thought*. Your piety and virtue, I know, you will always keep; eſpecially ſince your deſires and natural inclinations are towards ſo ſerious a ſtation in life, which others undertake too ſlightly, and without examining their hearts.

Pray GOD direct you, and confirm your good beginnings, and in the practice of *virtue* and *religion*; aſſuring your ſelf, that the higheſt principle, which is *the love of* GOD, is beſt attained not by dark ſpeculations and *monkiſh philoſophy*, but by moral practice, and love of mankind, and a ſtudy of their intereſts: the chief of which, and that which only raiſes them above the degree of brutes, is *freedom of reaſon* in the learned

world, and good government and *liberty* in the civil world. Tyranny in one is ever accompanied, or ſoon followed, by tyranny in the other. And when ſlavery is brought upon a people, they are ſoon reduced to that baſe and brutal ſtate, both in their underſtandings and morals.

True zeal therefore for GOD, or religion, muſt be ſupported by real love for mankind: and love of mankind cannot conſiſt but with a right knowledge of man's great intereſts, and of the only way and means, (that of liberty and freedom,) which God and nature has made neceſſary and eſſential to his manly dignity and character. They therefore, who betray theſe principles, and the rights of mankind, betray religion, even ſo as to make it an inſtrument againſt it ſelf.

But I muſt have done, and am your good friend to ſerve you,

S******.

LETTER. III.

November 19th, 1707.

TRULY, if your heart correſpond intirely with your pen; and if you thoroughly feel thoſe good principles you have expreſs'd; I cannot but have a great increaſe of kindneſs and eſteem for you.

Imagine not, that I ſuſpect you of ſo mean a thing, as hypocriſy or affected virtue: I am fully ſatisfied

ſatisfied you mean and intend what you write. But alas! the misfortune of *youth*, and not of youth merely, but of humane nature, is ſuch, that it is a thouſand times eaſier to frame the higheſt idea's of virtue and goodneſs, than to practiſe the leaſt part. And perhaps this is one of the chief reaſons, why virtue is ſo ill practiſed; becauſe the impreſſions, which ſeem ſo ſtrong at firſt, are too far rely'd on. We are apt to think, that what appears ſo fair, and ſtrikes us ſo forcibly, at the firſt view, will ſurely hold with us. We launch forth into *ſpeculation*; and after a time, when we look back, and ſee how ſlowly *practice* comes up to it; we are the ſooner led to deſpondency, the higher we had carried our views before.

Remember, therefore, to reſtrain your ſelf within due bounds; and to adapt your contemplation to what you are capable of practiſing. For there is a ſort of *ſpiritual ambition*: and in reading thoſe truly divine authors, whom you have ſometimes cited to me, I have obſerv'd many to have miſcarried by too fervent and eager a purſuit of ſuch perfection.

Glad I am, however, that you are not one of thoſe dull ſouls, that are uncapable of any ſpiritual refinement. I rejoice to ſee you raiſe your ſelf above the rank of ſordid and ſenſual ſpirits, who, tho' ſet apart and deſtin'd to *ſpirituals*, underſtand not, that there is any thing preparatory to it, beyond a little ſcholarſhip and knowledge

ledge of *fire*. I rejoice to see, that you think of other preparations, and another discipline of the heart and mind, than what is thought of amongst that indolent and supine race of men.

You are sensible, I perceive, that there is another sort of study, a profounder meditation, which becomes those, who are to set an example to mankind, and fit themselves to expound and teach those short and summary precepts, and divine laws, deliver'd to us in positive commands by our *sacred* LEGISLATOR.

'Tis our business, and of all, as many as are raised in knowledge above the poor illiterate and laborious vulgar, to explain, as far as possible, the reasons of those laws; their consent with the law of nature; their suitableness to society, and to the peace, happiness, and enjoyment of our selves. 'Tis there alone that we have need of recourse to *fire and brimstone*, and what other punishments the divine goodness (for our good) has condescended to threaten us with; where the force of these arguments cannot prevail.

Our business within our selves, is to set our selves *free*, according to that *perfect law of liberty*, which we are bid *to look into*. And I am delighted to read these words from you, *viz.* that we are made to contemplate and love GOD *intirely*, and with a *free* and voluntary love. But this, you well see, is a mystery too deep for those souls, whom you converse with, and see around you. They have scarce heard of what it is to combat

with

with their appetites and ſenſes. They think themſelves ſufficiently juſtify'd, *as men*; and ſufficiently qualified, as *holy men*, and *teachers of* RELIGION; if they can compaſs matters, by help of circumſtances and outward fortune, ſo as happily to reſtrain theſe luſts and appetites of theirs within the bounds of ordinary human laws. Hence *thoſe allurements of external objects* (as you well remark) they are ſo far from declining, that they rather raiſe and advance them by all poſſible means, without fear of adding fuel to their inflam'd deſires, in a heart, which can never burn towards GOD, till thoſe other fires are extinct.

GOD grant, that ſince you know this better way, this chaſte and holy diſcipline, you may ſtill purſue it, with that juſt and pious jealouſy over your own heart, that neither your eyes, nor any of your ſenſes, may be led away to ſerve themſelves, or any thing, but that CREATOR, who made them for his ſervice, and in whom alone is happineſs and reſt.

I wiſh you well, and ſhall be glad to hear ſtill of you.

S******.

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LETTER IV.

April 2d, 1708.

I HAVE received yours every week, and am highly satisfied with your thoughts; not doubting but they are truly your own and natural, as well as your manner of expressing them: for in this I would have you keep an intire freedom, and deliver your sentiments still nakedly, and without art or ornament. For it is the *heart* I look for: and tho' the ornaments of stile are what you are obliged to study and practise on other occasions; the less you regard 'em, and the greater *simplicity* you discover in writing privately to my self, the greater my satisfaction is, and the more becoming the part you have to act.

I was particularly pleas'd with your thoughts and reasonings on CHRISTIAN LIBERTY, and the zeal you shew for that noble principle, by which we cease to be slaves and drudges in religion; and, by being reconciled to our duty, and to the excellence of those precepts and injunctions, which tend absolutely to our good and happiness in every respect, we become *liberal servants and children of* GOD.

A mind thus releas'd and set at liberty, if it once sees its real good, will hardly be deprived of it, or dishearten'd in the pursuit, whatever discouragement surrounds it. 'Tis the inward ene-

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my alone can ſtop it. For when a mind, ſet free from *voluntary error*, and *ſelf-deceiving conceit*, aſpires to what is generous and deſerving; nothing, but what is vile and ſlavish from within, can deaden it: nothing, but a baſe love of inward ſlavery, and an adherence to our vices and corruptions, is able to effect this.

In ſome, who are horridly degenerate, this ſubmiſſion is wholly voluntary. Self-intereſt leads them; whether it be a private one of their own, or in ſociety and confederacy with ſome *faction* or *party*, to the ſupport of *temporal ends*. In this caſe it carries a ſpecious ſhew of *publick good*; whether it be in CHURCH, *or* STATE. And thus it is often the occaſion of an open denyal of reaſon, and of a bare-fac'd oppoſition to the *glorious ſearch of* TRUTH.

In others 'tis mere ſloth and lazyneſs, or forbid appetite and luſt, which bringing them under the power of ſin and ignorance, fits them for *political ſervitude* by *moral proſtitution*. For when the tyranny of luſt and paſſion can be indulgently permitted, and even eſteem'd a happineſs; no wonder if *liberty of thought* be in little eſteem. Every thing civil or ſpiritual of this kind muſt needs be diſregarded, or rather look'd upon with jealouſy and apprehenſion.

For one tyranny ſupports another: one ſlavery helps and miniſters to another. Vice miniſters to ſuperſtition; and a gainful miniſtreſs ſhe is: ſuperſtition, on the other hand, returns the kindneſs, and

and will not be ungrateful. Superſtition ſupports perſecution, and perſecution ſuperſtition.

Vice and intemperance is but an inward perſecution. 'Tis here, the violence begins. Here *truth* is firſt *held in unrighteouſneſs*, and the *γνωστον*, *reaſon*, *the knowable*, *the intelligible*, *the divine part* is perſecuted and impriſon'd. Thoſe, who ſubmit to this tyranny, in time, not only come to like it, but plead for it, and think the law of virtue tyrannical and againſt nature.

So in the abſolute governments of the world: nations, that ſubmit to arbitrary rule, love even their form of government; if one may call that a *form*, which is without any, and, like vice itſelf, knows neither law nor order.

In this ſtate the mind helps forward the ill work. For when reaſon, as an antagoniſt to vice, is become an inward enemy, and has once loſt her intereſt with the ſoul, by oppoſing every *favourite paſſion*; ſhe will then be ſoon expell'd another province, and lie under ſuſpicion for every attempt ſhe makes upon the mind. She is preſently miſcall'd and abus'd. She is thought *notional* in the underſtanding, *whimſical* in company, *ſeditious* in the ſtate, *heretical* in the church. Even in philoſophy, her own proper dominions, ſhe is look'd upon as none of the beſt companions: and here alſo authority is reſpected as the moſt convenient guide.

This we find to be the temper of *certain pla-*

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ces; where wit and ſenſe, however, are not wanting, nor learning of a *certain kind*. So that what is at the bottom of all this, is eaſily ſeen by thoſe, who ſee thoſe places, and can but make uſe of their eyes, to obſerve *manners* and *morals*.

'Tis pretty viſible indeed, that the original of all is in thoſe ſordid vices of ſloth, lazyneſs, and intemperance. This makes way for ambition: for how ſhould theſe be ſo illuſtriouſly maintained and vindicated, without large temporal power, and the umbrage of authority? hence it is, that thoſe *mother vices* are ſo indulgently treated in thoſe places; and that temperance and virtue are look'd upon with an evil eye, as *phanatically inclin'd*. For who, that is *morally free*, and has aſſerted his inward liberty, can ſee *truth* thus *held*, reaſon and ingenuity ſuppreſs'd, without ſome ſecret abhorrence and deteſtation?

But this you are happily appriz'd of; nor can you miſcarry, or be turn'd aſide by impoſture, or aſſuming formality and pride of any kind. You know your liberty: uſe it, and be free. But uſe it as becomes you; with all due meekneſs and ſubmiſſion, as to outward carriage. 'Tis the inward man, that is to be reliev'd and reſcu'd from his chains. Others need not your admonition: nor is this your duty; but far contrary. Preſerve your ſelf from the contagion, and 'tis enough: a great taſk it is; and will appear ſo to you; if you are hearty in it, and concern'd for *the thing it ſelf*, not the *appearance*. For the

inclination towards rebuke, and rectifying of others, which feels like zeal in us, is often the deceit of pride and ſelf-conceit, which finds this way to ſcreen it ſelf, and manage undiſcovered.

Keep your virtue and honeſty to your ſelf: for if it be truly ſuch, it will be in no pain for being kept ſecret. And thus you may be ſafe, and in due time, perhaps, uſeful alſo to others. Learn to diſcourſe and reaſon with your ſelf, or, as you honeſtly do, in letters to me. Trouble not others; nor be provok'd to ſhew your ſentiments, and betray noble and generous truths to ſuch, as can neither bear them, nor thoſe, whom they ſuſpect to be in poſſeſſion of them.

Mind that, which is the chief of all, *liberty*: and ſubdue early your own temper and appetites. 'Twill then be time for higher ſpeculations, when thoſe wandring imaginations, vain conceits, and wanton thoughts of youth, are mortify'd and ſubdu'd. Religion then will have no enemy oppoſed to her; and, in ſpite of ſuperſtition, and all ſpiritual tyrannies of the world, will ſoon be found a joyful taſk, the pleaſanteſt of all lives, quite other, than as commonly repreſented.

Look chiefly to this practice: for this is always permitted you. This you can be imploy'd in every hour; even when books and privacy are deny'd you, and buſineſs and attendance requir'd. The more you are a ſervant in this ſenſe, the more you will partake of that chief liberty, which is learnt by obedience and ſubmiſſion. And thus even they, who perhaps, by their haughtineſs and harſh-

harſhneſs, would render you a ſlave, and awe you into ſervile thoughts, will moſt of all contribute to your *manumiſſion*; if by their ſad example, they teach you (in meekneſs ſtill and humility) to deteſt the more their narrow, perſecuting, and bitter ſpirit, ſupported by their vices; and ſhew you evidently that great truth, that *tyranny can never be exercis'd, but by one, who is already a ſlave.*

Be aſſured therefore, that where the heart diſdains this *original corruption*, the mind will be its friend; and by delivering it from all ſpiritual bondage, will qualify it for a further progreſs; rewarding virtue by it ſelf. For *of* VIRTUE *there can be no* REWARD, *but of the ſame kind with it ſelf:* nothing can be ſuperadded to it. And even heaven it ſelf can be no other, than the addition of grace to grace, virtue to virtue, and knowledge to knowledge; by which we may ſtill more and more comprehend the *chief* VIRTUE, and higheſt excellence, *the giver and diſpenſer of* ALL: to whom I commit you; and pray your ſtudies may be effectual. So farewell.

LETTER V.

January 28th, 1708-9.

I WAS that morning thinking with myſelf what was become of you; and almoſt reſolv'd to have you inquired of at your father's; when I received

ceived your very ſurprizing letter, which brought ſo good an account of your ſelf, and a proof how well you had ſpent your time, during this your long ſilence.

'Twas providential, ſurely, that I ſhould happen once to ſpeak to you of the *Greek* language; when you aſked concerning the *foundations of learning*, and the ſource and fountain of thoſe lights we have, whether in *morality* or *divinity*. It was not poſſible for me to anſwer you deceitfully or ſlightly. I could not but point out to you where the ſpring-head lay. But as well as I can remember, I bad you not be diſcouraged: for by other channels, derived from thoſe fountains, you would be ſufficiently ſupply'd with the knowledge neceſſary for the ſolemn character, that lay before you.

You hearkned to me, it ſeems, with great attention and belief; and did reſolve to take no middle way. But little could I have thought, that you dar'd to have made your attempt on the other ſide, inſtead of drawing in your forces, and collecting your ſtrength and the remainder of your precious time, for what lay on this hither ſide. But ſince GOD would have it ſo; ſo be it: and I pray GOD proſper you in your daring attempt, and bleſs you with true modeſty and ſimplicity in all the other endeavours and practices of your life, as you have had courage and mighty boldneſs in this one.

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And ſo, indeed, it may naturally happen, by the ſame good providence; ſince at the inſtant that you began this enterprize, you have fallen into ſuch excellent reading. And if, as you ſhew by your letter, SIMPLICIUS's *Comment* be your delight; even that alone is a ſufficient earneſt of your *ſoul*'s improvement, as well as of your *mind*'s; if ſuch a diſtinction may well be made: for alas! all that we call improvement of our minds, in dry and empty ſpeculation; all learning or whatever elſe, either in *theology* or other ſcience, which has not a direct tendency to render us *honeſter*, *milder*, *juſter*, and *better*, is far from being juſtly ſo call'd. And even all that philoſophy, which is built on the compariſon and compounding of *ideas*, complex, implex, reflex, and all that din and noiſe of metaphyſicks; all that pretended ſtudy and ſcience of nature call'd natural philoſophy, *Ariſtotelean*, *Carteſian*, or whatever elſe it be; all thoſe high contemplations of ſtars and ſpheres and planets; and all the other inquiſitive curious parts of learning, are ſo far from being neceſſary improvements of the mind, that without the utmoſt care they ſerve only to blow it up in conceit and folly, and render men more ſtiff in their ignorance and vices.

And this brings into my thoughts a ſmall piece of true learning, which I think is generally bound up with SIMPLICIUS and EPICTETUS. 'Tis *the table*, (or picture,) *of* CEBES the *Socratick*, and elder diſciple of PLATO. 'This golden piece I

would have you ſtudy, and have by heart; the *Greek* too being pure and excellent. And by this Picture you will better underſtand my hint, and know the *true learning* from that, which falſly paſſes under the name of wiſdom and ſcience.

As for the *divine* PLATO, I would not with you, as yet, to go beyond a dialogue or two; and let thoſe be the *firſt* and *ſecond* ALCIBIADES. For now I will direct and aſſiſt you all I can, that you may gradually proceed, and not meet with ſtumbling-blocks in your way, or what, inſtead of forwarding, may retard you.

Read theſe pieces again and again. Suſpend for a while the reading of EPICTETUS: and read of MARCUS ANTONINUS only what you perfectly underſtand. Look into no commentator; tho' he has two very learned ones, GATAKER, and CASAUBON: and by no means ſtudy or ſo much as think on any of the paſſages, that create any difficulty or heſitation: but, as I tell you, keep to the plain and eaſy paſſages, which you may mark or write out, and ſo uſe on occaſion, as you walk or go about. For I reckon you are a good improver of your time, and that you manage every moment to advantage; elſe you could never have thus ſuddenly advanc'd ſo far as you have done.

But, in this caſe, you muſt take care of your health, by moving and uſing exerciſe; which makes me ſpeak of *walking*. For the mind muſt ſuffer, in ſome ſenſe, when the body does. And

ſtu-

ſtudents, who are over eager, and neglect this duty, hurt both their health and temper. The latter of which has a ſad influence on their minds; and makes them like ill veſſels, ſour whatever is put into them, tho' of ever ſo good a kind. For never do we more need a juſt chearfulneſs, *good humour*, or alacrity of mind, than when we are contemplating GOD and VIRTUE. So that it may be aſſign'd as one cauſe of the auſterity and harſhneſs of ſome men's *divinity*, that in their habit of mind, and by that very moroſe and ſour temper, which they contract with their hard ſtudies, they make the *idea of* GOD ſo much after the pattern of their own bitter ſpirit.

But, as I was ſaying concerning your progreſs; 'tis better for you to read in a ſmall compaſs what is good and excellent, and of eaſy conception, (without ſtop or difficulty, as to the ſpeculation) than to read *much* in *many*.

And having thus confin'd you, as to *three* of your authors mentioned, and ſet your bounds; I proceed to the *fourth*, which is LUCIAN; with whom, for a very different reaſon, I would have you alſo read but here and there. For tho' he is one of the politeſt of writers of the latter age; he only has ſet himſelf out like the *jay* in the fable, with the ſpoils of thoſe excellent and divine works by way of *dialogue*; (which was the way, that antiently all the philoſophers wrote in;) moſt of which works are now loſt and periſhed: and I bear the true reaſon why LUCIAN was preſerved, inſtead

inſtead of any of the other, was becauſe of the envy of the *Chriſtian* church, which ſoon began to be ſo corrupt; and finding this author to be ſo truly profane, and a ſcoffer of his own and all religions, they were contented to bear his immorality and diſſolute ſtyle and manners, only for the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the Heathen religion ridiculed by a Heathen, and the good and pious writers (unjuſtly ſtyl'd *profane*) moſt monſtrouſly abus'd by a wretch, who was truly the moſt profane and impious; and who, at the ſame time, even in the pieces that are left of him in the ſame book, treats both MOSES and our SAVIOUR, and the whole *Chriſtian religion* as comtemptibly, as he does his own. Therefore, as his dialogues of his *courtezans* are horridly vicious and licentious, and againſt all good manners; and as his dialogues of the *gods* are mere buffoonry, and his abuſe of PLATO, SOCRATES, and the reſt of thoſe divine Heathens as unjuſt and wicked, as really they are mean and ridiculous; I would not by any means have you to learn *Greek* at ſuch a coſt. There are ſome dialogues bound up, which are not of LUCIAN's: and theſe are the beſt. One concerning the *Cynicks* (whom he elſewhere ſo abuſes) is of that number, as I take it: and ſome pleaſant treatiſes there are beſides, all in pure *Greek*.

But here is the great and eſſential matter of the laſt conſequence to our ſouls and minds, to keep them from the contagion of *pleaſure*. And

to

to shew you, that I am not by this an imitator of the severe *ascetick monastick race of divines*, or an admirer of any thing, that looks like *restraint* in knowledge, or learning, or speculation; consider of this that I am going to say to you; and carry your reflection as far back, as to that first little glimmering of ingenuity, which shew'd it self in you in your childhood; I mean the art of painting. Had you been to have made one of those artists of the nobler kind, who paint history, and actions, and nature; and had you been sent by me into ITALY, or elsewhere, to learn the stile and manner of the great masters; what advice, think you, should I have given you? I say, *what advice?* not as a *Christian*, or *philosopher*, or *man of virtue*; but merely as a lover of the art; supposing I had ever been of a very vicious life; and had had no other end in sending you abroad, than to have procur'd pictures, and have got you a masterly hand in that kind, and to have employ'd afterwards for my own use, and for the ornament of my house: most certainly my advice must have been this: (and thus any other master or patron of *common sense* would have accosted you:)

"You are now going to learn what is excellent and beautiful in the way of painting. You will go where there are many pictures of many different hands, and quite contrary in their *manner* and *stile*. You will find many judges of different opinions; and the worst masters, the worst pieces, the worst styles and manners,

will

" will have their admirers. How is it you ſhould
" form your *reliſh?* By what means ſhall you
" come to have a right admiration your ſelf, and
" praiſe and imitate only what is truly exquiſite
" and good in the kind? If you follow your ſud-
" den fancy and bent; if you fix your eye on
" that, which moſt ſtrikes and pleaſes you at the firſt
" ſight; you will moſt certainly never come to
" have *a good eye* at all. You will be led aſide,
" and have a florid, gay, fooliſh fancy; and any lewd
" tawdry piece of dawbing will make a ſtronger
" impreſſion on you, than the moſt majeſtick
" chaſte piece of the ſobereſt maſter; and a FLE-
" MISH, or a FRENCH *manner* will more prevail
" with you, than a true ITALIAN.

" How ſhall we do then in this caſe?—Why
" even thus: (for what way is there elſe?) make
" it a ſolemn rule to your ſelf, to check your
" own *eye* and fancy, which naturally leads to
" *gaiety*; and turn it ſtrongly on that, which it
" cares not at firſt to dwell upon. Be ſure that you
" paſs by on every occaſion, whatever little idle
" piece of a negligent looſe kind may be apt to de-
" tain your eye; and fix your ſelf upon the no-
" bler, more maſterly, and ſtudied pieces of ſuch,
" as were known VIRTUOSOS, and admired by
" all ſuch. If you find no grace or charm at the
" firſt looking; look on; continue to obſerve
" all, that you poſſibly can: and when you have
" got one *glimpſe*; improve it; copy it; cultivate
" the *idea*; and labour, till you have work'd your

" ſelf

" ſelf into a *right* TASTE, and form'd a re-
" liſh and underſtanding of what is truly beauti-
" ful in the kind."

This is what any ordinary maſter or patron of common good ſenſe would have ſaid to you, upon your enterprize on painting: and this is what I now ſay to you, on your *great enterprize on* KNOWLEDGE *and* LEARNING. This is the reaſon I cry out to you againſt *pleaſure*; to beware of thoſe paths, which lead to a wrong knowledge, a wrong judgment of what is *ſupremely* BEAUTIFUL and GOOD.

Your endeavour and hope is to know GOD and goodneſs, in which alone there is true enjoyment and good. The way to this is not to put out your eyes, or hood-wink your ſelf, or lie in the dark, expecting to ſee viſions. No, you need not apologize for your ſelf, (as you do,) for deſiring to read ORIGEN, the good *father*, and beſt of all thoſe they call ſo. You ſhall not only, by my conſent, read ORIGEN, but even CELSUS himſelf, who was *a Heathen*, and writ zealouſly againſt the *Chriſtians*, whom ORIGEN defends. So far am I from bidding you fly heretical, or Heathen books, where good manners, honeſty, and fair reaſon ſhew themſelves. But where vice, ill manners, abuſive wit, and buffoonry appear; the prejudice is juſt: pronounce againſt ſuch authors; fly them, and condemn them.

Preſerve your ſelf, and keep your *eye* and *judgment* clear. But if the eye be not open to all fair

and

and handſome ſpectacles, how ſhould you learn what is *fair* and *handſome*? You would praiſe GOD: But how would you praiſe him? And for what? Know you, as yet, what true excellence is? The *attributes*, as you call them, which you have learnt in your *catechiſm*, or in the higher ſchools of the ſchool-men and divines; the attributes, I ſay, of JUSTICE, GOODNESS, WISDOM, and the like, are they really underſtood by you? Or do you talk of theſe by rote? if ſo; what is this but *giving words to* GOD, not praiſe, nor honour, nor glory? If the APOSTLE appeals to whatſoever is *lovely*, whatſoever is *honeſt*, (or comely,) whatſoever is *virtue*, or *praiſe-worthineſs*; how ſhall we underſtand his appeal, till we have ſtudied? ——Or do we know theſe things from our cradles? For ſince we were men, we never vouchſaf'd to enquire; but took for granted that we were knowing in the matter: which yet, without philoſophy, 'tis impoſſible we ſhould be: ſo that when, without philoſophy, we make uſe of theſe high terms, and praiſe GOD in theſe *philoſophical characters*; we may be very good, and pious, and well meaning; but indeed we are little better than *parrots in devotion*.

To return therefore to the *picture*, and the advice I am to give you in your ſtudy of that great and maſterly hand, which has drawn all things, and exhibited this great *maſter-piece of* NATURE, this world or univerſe. The firſt thing is, that you prepare and clear your *ſight*; that your eye be

ſimple,

ſimple, pure, uncorrupted, and ready and fit to receive that light, which is to ſhine into it. This is done by virtue, meekneſs, modeſty, ſincerity. And way being thus made, your reſolution ſtanding towards TRUTH, and you being conſcious to your ſelf, that whilſt you ſeek truth, you cannot offend *the* GOD *of truth*; be not afraid of viewing *all* and comparing *all*. For without compariſon of the *falſe* with the *true*, of the *ugly* with the *beauteous*, of the *dark* and obſcure with the *bright* and ſhining, we can meaſure nothing, not apprehend any thing that is excellent. We may be as well *Pagan*, *Heathen*, *Turk*, or any thing elſe; if being at CONSTANTINOPLE, ISPAHAN, or wherever the ſeat of any great empire is, we refuſe to look on *Chriſtian* authors, or hear their ſober apologiſts, as being contrary to the hiſtory impoſed on us, with an utter deſtruction and cancelling of all other hiſtory or philoſophy whatſoever.

But this fear being ſet aſide, which is ſo wholly unworthy of GOD, and ſo debaſing to his ſtandard of reaſon, which he has placed in us; our next concern is to look impartially into all authors, and upon all nations, and into all parts of learning and human life; to ſeek and find out the true *pulchrum*, the *honeſtum*, the καλὸν: by which ſtandard and meaſure we may know GOD; and know how to praiſe him, when we have learnt what is praiſe-worthy.

Be this your ſearch, and by theſe means, and

by this way I have ſhewn you. Seek for the καλὸν in every thing, beginning as low as the plants, the fields, or even the common arts of mankind; to ſee what is beauteous, and what contrary. Thus, and by the original fountains you are arrived to, you will, under providence, attain beauty and true wiſdom for your ſelf; being true to virtue: and ſo GOD proſper you.

S*******.

LETTER VI.

February 8th, 1709.

I COMMEND your honeſt liberty; and therefore in the uſe of it, recommend to you the purſuit of the ſame thoughts, that you have ſo honeſtly and naturally grafted upon the ſtock afforded you: to which GOD grant a true life and increaſe.

Time will be, when your greateſt diſturbance will ariſe from that ancient difficulty πόθεν τὸ κακὸν. But when you have well inur'd your ſelf to the precepts and ſpeculation, which give the view of its noble contrary (τὸ καλὸν;) you will reſt ſatisfied. But be perſuaded, in the mean time, that wiſdom is more from the *heart*, than from the *head*. *Feel* goodneſs, and you will ſee all things fair and good.

Let it be your chief endeavour to make acquaintance with what is *good*; that by ſeeing perfectly,

fectly, by the help of reaſon, what *good* is, and what *ill*; you may prove whether that, which is from revelation, be not perfectly good and conformable to this ſtandard. For if ſo, the very end of the goſpel proves its truth. And that, which to the vulgar is only knowable by miracles, and teachable by poſitive precepts and commands, to the wiſe and virtuous, is demonſtrable by the nature of the thing. So that how can we forbear to give our aſſent to thoſe doctrines, and that revelation, which is deliver'd to us, and enforced by miracles and wonders? But to us, the very teſt and proof of the divineneſs and truth of that revelation, is from the excellence of the things reveal'd: otherwiſe the wonders themſelves would have little effect or power: nor could they be thorowly depended on, were we even as near to them, as thoſe, who lived more than a thouſand years ſince; when they were freſhly wrought, and ſtrong in the memory of men. This is what alone can juſtify our eaſineſs of faith; and in this reſpect we can never be too reſign'd, too willing, or too complaiſant.

Mean while let your eye be *ſimple*; and turn it from the ἄθεον to the θεῖον. View GOD in goodneſs, and in his works, which have that character. Dwell with honeſty, and beauty, and order: ſtudy and love what is of this kind; and in time you will know and love the AUTHOR. Farewel.

LETTER VII.

May 5th, 1709.

I AM mightily satisfyed with your writing to me as you do: Pray continue.

I like your judgment and thoughts on the books you mention. The bishop of SALISBURY's exposition of the *articles* is, no duobt, highly worthy of your study. None can better explain the sense of the church, than one, who is the greatest pillar of it since the first founders; one, who best explain'd and asserted the reformation it self; was chiefly instrumental in saving it from Popery before and at the revolution; and is now the truest example of *laborious*, *primitive*, *pious*, and *learned Episcopacy*. The antidote indeed, recommended to you, was very absurd, as you remark your self; and pray have little to do with *controversy* of any sort.

CHILLINGWORTH *against Popery* is sufficient reading for you, and will teach you the best manner of that polemick divinity. 'Tis enough to read what is *good*; and what you find *bad* lay aside. The good you read will be a sufficient prevention and anticipation against any evil, that may chance come a-cross you imperceptibly. Fill your self with *good*; and you will carry within you sufficient answer to the *bad*; and by a sort of instinct soon discern the one from the other.

Trust

Truſt your own heart whilſt you keep it honeſt, and can lift it up to the GOD *of truth*, as ſeeking that, and *that only*. But keep your ſelf from wrangling, and a controverſial ſpirit: for more harm is taken by a fierce ſour anſwer to an ill book, than from the book it ſelf, be it ever ſo ill. Therefore remember, I charge you to avoid controverſial writers.

If the *antients*, in their purity, are as yet out of your reach; ſearch the *moderns*, that are neareſt to them. If you cannot converſe with the moſt antient, uſe the moſt modern. For the authors of the middle age, and all that ſort of philoſophy, as well as divinity, will be of little advantage to you. Gain the purity of the *Engliſh*, your own tongue; and read whatever is eſteem'd polite or well writ, that comes abroad. You may give me an account of this.

Mean while I am glad you read thoſe modern divines of our nation, who liv'd in this age, and were remarkable for *moderation*, and the *Chriſtian* principle of *charity* and *toleration*.

Do as your *genius* directs you: and if you are virtuous and good, your genius will guide you right. But whatever it be, either antient or modern, that you chuſe or read; or however you change your opinion or courſe of ſtudy; communicate, and you ſhall be heard willingly, and adviſed the beſt I am able.

I think your genius has dictated right to you about a little pamphlet; which, it ſeems, is com-

monly ſold with the reflections lately writ upon it; which, if ſhort, I would not for once debar you from, but have you hear what is ſaid in anſwer, leſt you ſhou'd ſeem to your ſelf miſtaken or diffident, as to the truth. For my own part, I cannot but think from my heart, that the author of the pamphlet (whatever air of humour he may give himſelf, the better to take with the polite world,) is moſt ſincere to virtue and religion, and even to the intereſt of our church. For many of our modern aſſertors of toleration have ſeemed to leave us deſtitute of what he calls *a publick leading*, or *miniſtry*; which notion he treats as mere enthuſiaſm, or horrid irreligion. For, in truth, religion cannot be left thus to ſhift for it ſelf, without the care and countenance of the magiſtrate. But in the remarks, or reflections, I find the anſwerers are ſo far from underſtanding this plain ſenſe of a *leading*, that they think it means only *leading by the noſe*. So excellent are theſe gentlemen at improving ridicule againſt themſelves. They care not who defends religion, or how it is defended, if it be not *in their way*. They cry out upon a deluge of ſcepticiſm breaking out and over-whelming us, in this witty knowing age; and yet they will allow no remedy proper in the caſe, no application to the world in a more genteel, polite, open, and free way. They for their parts (witneſs Dr. A——y againſt the good Mr. H——y) have aſſerted virtue upon baſer principles, and more falſe and deſtructive by far, than

EPICU-

EPICURUS, DEMOCRITUS, ARISTIPPUS, or any of the antient atheists. They have subverted all morality, all grounds of honesty, and supplanted the whole doctrine of our SAVIOUR, under pretence of magnifying his revelation. In philosophy they give up all foundations, all principles of society, and the very best arguments to prove the being of a *Deity*. And, by the way, this pamphlet, which they are so offended at, is so strong on this head, that the author asserts the *Deity* even on the foundations of his *innate idea*, and the power of this notion even over atheists themselves, and by the very confession of EPICURUS and that sect. —— But no more now. Continue to inform me of your reading and of new books: and GOD be with you.

LETTER VIII.

June 3d, 1709.

I Received your's since your recovery, which I am glad to hear of. The new book you have discovered, and the account of it gave me great satisfaction. Your conjectures of it perhaps are not amiss. Dr. TINDAL's principles, whatever they may be as to church government, are, in respect of philosophy and theology, far wide from the author's of the rhapsody.

In general truly it has happened, that all those they call *free writers* now-a-days, have espoused

those

those principles, which Mr. Hobbes set a foot in this last age. Mr. Locke, as much as I honour him on account of other writings (*viz.* on government, policy, trade, coin, education, toleration, &c.) and as well as I knew him, and can answer for his sincerity as a most zealous *Christian* and believer, did however go in the self same track, and is follow'd by the Tindals, and all the other ingenious free authors of our time.

'Twas Mr. Locke, that struck the home blow: for Mr. Hobbes's character and base slavish principles in government took off the poyson of his philosophy. 'Twas Mr. Locke that struck at all fundamentals, threw all *order* and *virtue* out of the world, and made the very *ideas* of these (which are the same as those of God) *unnatural*, and without foundation in our minds. *Innate* is a word he poorly plays upon: the right word, tho' less used, is *connatural*. For what has *birth* or *progress* of the *fœtus* out of the womb to do in this case? the question is not about the *time* the ideas enter'd, or the *moment* that one body came out of the other: but whether the constitution of man be such, that being adult and grown up, at such or such a time, sooner or later (no matter when) the idea and sense of *order*, *administration*, and a God will not infalliby, inevitably, necessarily spring up in him.

Then comes the credulous Mr. Locke, with his *Indian*, barbarian stories of wild nations, that have no such idea, (as travellers, learned authors! and

nd men of truth! and great philoſophers! have nform'd him;) not conſidering, that this is but *a egative* upon a *hearſay*, and ſo circumſtantiated, hat the faith of the *Indian* denyer may be as well ueſtion'd, as the veracity or judgment of the re-ater; who cannot be ſuppoſed to know ſuffici-ntly the myſteries and ſecrets of thoſe barbarians; whoſe language they but imperfectly know; and o whom we good *Chriſtians* have by our little nercy given ſufficient reaſon to conceal many ſe-rets from us; as we know particularly in reſpect f ſimples and vegetables: of which tho' we got he *peruvian* bark, and ſome other noble reme-lies; yet 'tis certain, that through the cruelty of he *Spaniards*, as they have own'd themſelves, many ſecrets in medicinal affairs have been ſup-preſs'd.

But Mr. Locke, who had more faith, and was more learn'd in modern *wonder-writers*, than in ntient philoſophy, gave up an argument for the *Deity*, which Cicero (tho' a profeſs'd *Sceptick*) would not explode; and which even the chief of he Atheiſtick philoſophers anciently acknow-edged, and ſolv'd only by their *primus in orbe Deos fecit timor*.

Thus virtue, according to Mr. Locke, has no other meaſure, law, or rule, than *faſhion* and *uſtom*: morality, juſtice, equity, depend only on *law* and *will*: and God indeed is a perfect *free agent* in his ſenſe; that is, *free to any thing, that is however ill*: for if he wills it, it will be made good;

good; virtue may be vice, and vice virtue in its turn, if he pleaſes. And thus neither *right* nor *wrong*, *virtue* nor *vice* are any thing in themſelves; nor is there any trace or idea of them *naturally imprinted* on human minds. Experience and our catechiſm teach us all! I ſuppoſe 'tis ſomething of like kind, which teaches birds their neſts, and how to fly the minute they have full feathers. Your THEOCLES, whom you commend ſo much, laughs at this; and, as modeſtly as he can, aſks a *Lockiſt*, whether the idea of *woman* (and what is ſought after in woman,) be not taught alſo by ſome catechiſm, and dictated to the man. Perhaps if we had no *ſchools of Venus*, nor ſuch horrid lewd books, or lewd companions; we might have no underſtanding of this, till we were taught by our parents: and if the tradition ſhould happen to be loſt; the race of mankind might periſh in a ſober nation. ——This is very poor philoſophy. But the gibberiſh of the ſchools, for theſe ſeveral centuries, has, in thoſe latter days of liberty, made any contrary philoſophy of good reliſh, and highly ſavoury with all men of wit; ſuch as have been emancipated from that egregious form of intellectual bondage. But I ſee you are on a better ſcent. —

I can ſay no more at preſent: only I would not have you inquire further, as yet, after that book, entituled, an *inquiry*: Becauſe it was an imperfect thing, brought into the world many years ſince, contrary to the author's deſign, in his abſence

absence beyond sea, and in a disguis'd disorder'd style. It may one day perhaps be set righter; since other things have made it to be inquired after. Have patience in the mean while, and continue your studies. Dispute with no body on any subject. Keep your remarks to your self; and cultivate the good maxims and principles you have received. Be humble in all your manners, gesture, and behaviour: for that chiefly suits with the character design'd. God guide you in all true piety, moderation, and virtue. Farewel.

LETTER IX.

December 30, 1709.

I Heartily approv'd your method and design, and continue to do so. Get what you can of the *Greek* language: 'tis the fountain of all; not only of polite learning and philosophy, but of divinity also, as being the language of our *sacred oracles*. For even the old testament is in its best and truest language in the *Septuagint*. All that you can get of leisure from other exercise and the required school-learning, apply to *Greek*.

The few good books of our divines and *moralists*, which you have discovered by your own sagacity, will serve you both for language and thought.

Dr. More's *Enchiridion Ethicum*, is a right good piece of sound morals; tho' the doctor himself, in other *english* pieces, could not abide by it;

fit a little upon different excurſions into other reg
ons, and was perhaps as great an enthuſiaſt, a
any of thoſe, whom he wrote againſt. However
he was a learned and a good man.

Remember my former cautions and recommen
dations; and endeavour above all things to avoi
the conceit and pride, which is almoſt naturall
inherent to the function and calling you are abou
to undertake. And ſince we think fit to call
prieſthood, ſee that it be of ſuch a kind, as ma
not make you ſay or think of your ſelf in the pre
ſence of another, *that you are holier than he*. 'ti
a *ſolemn* part; but ſee and beware, that the *ſo
lemnity* do not abuſe you. And remember, tha
He, whom you own to be your *Maſter* and le
giſlator, made no laws relating to civil power, o
interfering with it. So that all the preheminence
wealth, or penſion, which you receive, or ex
pect to receive, by help of this aſſum'd character
is from the publick, whence both the authorit
and profit is derived; and on which it legally de
pends; all other pretenſions of *prieſts* being Jew
iſh and Heatheniſh, and in our ſtate ſeditious, di
loyal, and factious; ſuch as is that ſpirit, which
now reigns in our univerſities, and where the high
church-men (as they are call'd) are prevalent
But to this (thank God) our parliament, interpo
ſing at this inſtant, gives a check, by proceed
ing againſt Dr. S——r, and advancing Mr
H——r, of whom I have often ſpoke t
you.

No

No more now, but God bless your studies and endeavours. Never was more need of a spirit of *moderation* and *Christianity* among those, who are entring on the ministerial function; since the contrary spirit has possess'd almost the whole priesthood, beyond all former phanaticks. God send you all true *Christianity*, with that temper, life, and manners, which become it. Farewel.

LETTER X.

July 10th, 1710.

I Believ'd indeed, it was your expecting me every day at ****, that prevented your writing, since you received *orders* from the good bishop, my lord of SALISBURY; who as he has done more, than any man living, for the good and honour of the church of ENGLAND and the reform'd religion; so he now suffers more than any man from the tongues and slander of those ungrateful *church-men*; who may well call themselves by that single term of distinction, having no claim to that of *Christianity* or *Protestant*; since they have thrown off all the temper of the former, and all concern or interest with the latter.

I hope whatever advice the great and good bishop gave you, will sink deeply into your mind: and that your receiving *orders* from the hands of

ſo worthy a prelate will be one of the circumſtances, which may help to inſure your ſteddineſs in honeſty, good principles, moderation, and true *Chriſtianity*; which are now ſet at nought, and at defiance, by the far greater part and numbers of that body of clergy call'd *the church of* ENGLAND; who no more eſteem themſelves a Proteſtant church, or in union with thoſe of Proteſtant communion; tho' they pretend to the name of *Chriſtian*, and would have us judge of the *ſpirit* of *Chriſtianity* from *theirs*: which GOD prevent! leſt good men ſhould in time forſake *Chriſtianity* through their means.

As for my part of kindneſs and friendſhip to you; I ſhall be ſufficiently recompenced, if you prove (as you have ever promis'd) a virtuous, pious, ſober, and ſtudious man, as becomes the ſolemn charge belonging to you. But you have been brought into the world, and come into *orders*, in the worſt time for inſolence, riot, pride, and preſumption of clergy-men, that I ever knew, or have read of; tho' I have ſearched far into the characters of high church-men from the firſt centuries, in which they grew to be dignify'd with crowns and purple, to the late times of our reformation, and to our preſent age.

The thorough knowledge you have had of me, and the direction of all my ſtudies and life to the promotion of religion, virtue, and the good of mankind, will (I hope) be of ſome good example

to

to you: at leaſt it will be a hindrance to your being ſeduc'd by *infamies* and *calumnies*; ſuch as are thrown upon the men call'd *moderate*, and in their ſtyle indifferent in religion, heterodox, and heretical.

I pray God to bleſs you in your new function with all the true virtue, humility, moderation, and meekneſs, which becomes it. I am your hearty friend.

S******.

FINIS.

BRITISH
25 JA 89
MUSEUM

LETTERS

FROM THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE LATE

Earl of *SHAFTESBURY*,

TO

ROBERT MOLESWORTH Esq;

Afterwards the Lord Viscount of that Name.

WITH

Two LETTERS written by the late

Sir *John Cropley*.

Printed in the Year MDCCXLV.

BRITISH MUSEUM

LETTER I.

Dear SIR, *Chelſey, Sept.* 30. 1708.

TWO reaſons have made me delay anſwering yours: I was in hopes of ſeeing our great lord, and I depended on Mr. *Micklethwayt*'s preſenting you with my ſervices, and informing you of all matters publick and private. The queen is but juſt come to *Kenſington*, and my * lord to town. He promis'd to ſend me word, and appoint me a time, when he came. But I ſhou'd have prevented him, had it been my weather for town-viſits. But having ow'd the recovery of my health, to the method I have taken of avoiding the town-ſmoke; I am kept at a diſtance, and like to be remov'd even from hence in a little while: tho' I have a project of ſtaying longer here than my uſual time, by removing now and then croſs the water, to my friend Sir *John Cropley*'s in *Surrey*, where my riding and airing recruits me. I am highly rejoic'd, as you may believe, that I can find my ſelf able to do a little more publick ſervice, than what of late years I have been confin'd to, in my country: and I own the circumſtances of a court were never ſo inviting to me, as they have been ſince a late

* *The Earl of* Godolphin, *then lord treaſurer.*

late view I have had of the beſt part of our miniſtry. It may perhaps have added more of confidence and forwardneſs in my way of courtſhip, to be ſo incapacitated as I am from taking any thing there for my ſelf. But I hope I may convince ſome perſons, that it is poſſible to ſerve diſintereſtedly; and that obligations already receiv'd (tho' on the account of others) are able to bind as ſtrongly, as the ties of ſelf-intereſt.

I had reſolv'd to ſtay, till I had one conference more with our * lord before I writ to you: but a letter, which I have this moment receiv'd from *Mr. Micklethwayt*, on his having waited on you in the country, has made me reſolve to write thus haſtily (without miſſing to-night's poſt) to acknowledge, in the friendlieſt and free'ſt manner, the kind and friendly part you have taken in my private intereſts. If I have ever endur'd any thing for the publick, or facrific'd any of my youth, or pleaſures, or intereſts to it, I find it is made up to me in the good opinion of ſome few: and perhaps one ſuch friendſhip as yours, may counter-balance all the malice of my worſt enemies. 'Tis true, what I once told you I had determin'd with my ſelf, never to think of the continuance of a family, or altering the condition of life that was moſt agreeable to me, whilſt I had (as I thought) a juſt excuſe: but that of late I had yielded to my friends, and allow'd 'em to diſpoſe of me, if they thought that by this

* *The ſame.*

this means, I cou'd add any thing to the power or intereſt I had, to ſerve them or my country. I was afraid however, that I ſhou'd be ſo heavy and unactive in this affair, that my friends wou'd hardly take me to be in earneſt. But tho' it be ſo lately, that I have taken my reſolution, and that you were one of the firſt who knew it; I have on a ſudden ſuch an affair thrown a-croſs me, that I am confident I have zeal enough rais'd in me, to hinder you from doubting whether I ſincerely intend what I profeſs. There is a lady, whom chance has thrown into my neighbourhood, and whom I never ſaw till the *Sunday* before laſt, who is in every reſpect that very perſon, I had ever fram'd a picture of from my imagination, when I wiſh'd the beſt for my own happineſs in ſuch a circumſtance. I had heard her character before, and her education, and every circumſtance beſides ſuited exactly, all but her fortune. Had ſhe but a ten thouſand pounds, my modeſty wou'd allow me to apply without reſerve, where it was proper. And I wou'd it were in my power, without injury to the lady, to have her upon thoſe terms, or lower. I flatter my ſelf too by all appearance, that the father has long had, and yet retains, ſome regard for me; and that the diſappointments he has had in ſome higher friendſhips, may make him look as low as on me, and imagine me not wholly unworthy of his relation. But, if by any intereſt I had, or cou'd poſſibly make with the father, I ſhou'd induce him to beſtow his daughter,

per-

perhaps with much leſs fortune (ſince I wou'd gladly accept her ſo) than what in other places he wou'd have beſtow'd; I ſhall draw a double misfortune on the lady; unleſs ſhe has goodneſs enough to think, that one who ſeeks her for what he counts better than a fortune, may poſſibly by his worth or virtue make her ſufficient amends. And were I but incourag'd to hope or fancy this, I wou'd begin my offers to-morrow; and ſhou'd have greater hopes, that my diſintereſtedneſs wou'd be of ſome ſervice to me in this place, as matters ſtand.

You ſee my ſcruple, and being us'd to me, and knowing my odd temper (for I well know you believe it no affectation) you may be able to relieve me, and have the means in your hands: for a few words with one, who has the honour to be your relation, wou'd reſolve me in this affair. I cannot ſtir in it till then, and ſhou'd be more afraid of my good fortune than my bad, if it ſhou'd happen to me to prevail with a father, for whom the lady has ſo true a duty; that, even *againſt her inclination*, ſhe wou'd comply with any thing he requir'd. I am afraid it will be impoſſible for you to read, or make ſenſe of, what I write thus haſtily: but I fancy with my ſelf, I make you the greater confidence, in truſting to my humour and firſt thought, without ſtaying till I have ſo much as form'd a reflection. I am ſure there is hardly any one beſides you, I ſhou'd lay my ſelf thus open to: but I am ſecure

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in your friendſhip, which I rely on (for advice) in this affair. I beg to hear from you in anſwer by the firſt poſt, being with great ſincerity,

Your faithful friend
and humble ſervant,
SHAFTESBURY.

LETTER II.

Dear SIR, Beachworth in Surrey, Oct. 12. 1708.

FROM the hour I had writ you that haſty letter from *Chelſey*, I was in pain till I had heard from you; and cou'd not but often wiſh, I had not writ in that hurry and confuſion. But ſince I have receiv'd yours in anſwer, I have all the ſatisfaction imaginable. I ſee ſo ſincere a return of friendſhip, that it cannot any more concern me to have laid my ſelf ſo open.

I wou'd have a friend ſee me at the worſt: and 'tis a ſatisfaction to find, that if one's failures or weakneſſes were greater than really they are, one ſhou'd ſtill be cheriſh'd, and be ſupply'd even with good ſentiments and diſcretion, when they were wanting. One thing only I beg you wou'd take notice of, that I had never any thoughts of applying to the young lady, before I apply'd to the father. My morals are a little too ſtrict to let me have taken ſuch an advantage, had it been ever ſo fairly offer'd. But my drift was,

was, to learn whether there had been an inclination to any one before me: for many offers had been, and ſome I know very great, within theſe few months. And tho' the duty of the daughter might have acquieſc'd in the diſlike of the father, ſo as not to ſhew any diſcontent; yet there might be ſomething of this lying at the heart, and ſo ſtrongly, that my application and ſucceſs (if I had any) might be look'd on with an ill eye, and cauſe a real trouble. This wou'd have caus'd it, I am ſure, in me; when I ſhou'd have come, perhaps too late, to have diſcover'd it. But there is nothing of this in the caſe, by all that I can judge or learn. Never did I hear of a creature ſo perfectly reſign'd to duty, ſo innocent in her ſelf, and ſo contented under thoſe means, which have kept and ſtill keep her ſo innocent, as to the vanities and vices of the world; tho' with real good parts, and improvement of 'em at home: for of this my lord has wiſely and handſomely taken care. Never was any thing ſo unfortunate for me, as that ſhe ſhou'd be ſuch a fortune: for that I know is what every body will like, and I perhaps have the worſt reliſh of, and leaſt deſerve. The other qualities I ſhou'd prize more than any, and the generality of mankind, inſtead of prizing, would be apt to contemn: for want of air, and humour, and the wit of general converſation, and the knowledge of the town, and faſhions, and diverſions, are unpardonable dullneſſes in young wives; who are taken more as companions

of

of pleaſure, and to be ſhown abroad as beauties in the world than to raiſe families, and ſupport the honour and intereſt of thoſe they are join'd to.

But to ſhow you that I am not wanting to my ſelf, ſince your incouraging and adviſing letter, I have begun my application, by what you well call * *the right end.* You ſhall hear with what ſucceſs, as ſoon as I know my ſelf. I cou'd both be bolder and abler in the management of the affair, and cou'd promiſe my ſelf ſure ſucceſs, had I but a conſtitution that wou'd let me act for my ſelf; and buſtle in and about that town, which by this winter-ſeaſon coming on ſo fiercely, is by this time in ſuch a cloud of ſmoke, that I can neither be in it, nor near it. I ſtay'd but a day or two too long at *Chelſey*, after the ſetting in of theſe East and North-East winds, and I had like to have fallen into one of my ſhort breathing fits, which would have ruin'd me. But by flying hither and keeping my diſtance, I keep my health: but (I may well fear) ſhall loſe my miſtreſs. For who ever courted at this rate? Did matters lie ſo as to the fortune, that I cou'd be the obliging ſide, it might go on with tolerable grace: and ſo I fear it muſt be, whenever I marry, or elſe am like to remain a batchelor.

However, you can never any more arraign my morals after this. You can never charge me, as you have done, for a remiſſneſs, and lazineſs, or

* *The father.*

an indulgence to my own ways, and love of retirement; which (as you thought) might have made me averſe to undertake the part of wife and children, tho' my country or friends ever ſo much requir'd it of me. You ſee it will not be my fault: and you ſhall find I will not act booty for my ſelf. If I have any kind of ſucceſs at this *right end*, I will then beg to uſe the favour of your intereſt in your couſin, as I ſhall then mention to you: but inſtead of ſetting me off for other things, I wou'd moſt earneſtly beg that you wou'd ſpeak only of your long and thorough knowledge of me, and (if you think it true) of my good temper, honeſty, love of my relations and country, ſobriety, and virtue. For theſe I hope I may ſtand to, as far as I am poſſeſs'd of 'em. They will not, I hope, grow worſe as I grow older. For tho' I can promiſe little of my *regimen*, by which I hold my health; I am perſuaded to think no vices will grow upon me, as I manage my ſelf: for in this I have been ever ſincere, to make my ſelf as good as I was able, and to live for no other end.

I am aſham'd to have writ ſuch a long letter, about my ſelf, as if I had no concern for the publick: tho' I may truly ſay to you; if I had not the publick in view, I ſhou'd hardly have theſe thoughts of changing my condition at this time of day, that I can better indulge my ſelf in the eaſe of a ſingle and private life. The weather, which is ſo unfortunate for me by theſe ſettled Eaſt winds,

winds, keeps the country dry; and if they are the same (as is likely) in *Flanders*, I hope e'er this *Liſle* is ours, which has coſt us ſo dear, and held us in ſuch terrible anxiety.

I have been to ſee lord treaſurer that little while he was in town, but cou'd not find him.

Pray let me hear in your next, what time you think of coming * up. I ſhall be glad to hear ſoon from you again, wiſhing you delight and good ſucceſs in your country affairs, and all happineſs and proſperity to your family. I remain,

Dear SIR,

Your obliged friend and
faithful humble ſervant,

Sir John Cropley, *with whom I am here, preſents his humble ſervice to you.*

SHAFTESBURY.

LETTER III.

Dear Sir, Beachworth in Surrey, Oct. 23. 1708.

YOU gueſs'd right as to the winds, which are ſtill eaſterly, and keep me here in winter-quarters, from all publick and private affairs. I have either ſeen lord treaſurer, nor been at

* *From* Edlington, *a ſeat the lord* MOLESWORTH *has in* Yorkſhire.

† *Chelſey* to proſecute my own affair: tho' as for this latter, as great as my zeal is, I am forc'd to a ſtand. I was before-hand told, that as to the lord, he was in ſome meaſure ingag'd; and the return I had from him, on my application, ſeem'd to imply as much. On the other ſide, I have had reaſon to hope, that the lady, who had before bemoan'd her ſelf for being deſtin'd to greatneſs without virtue, had yet her choice to make; and, after her eſcapes, ſought for nothing ſo much, as ſobriety and a ſtrict virtuous character. How much more ſtill this adds to my zeal, you may believe: and by all hands I have receiv'd the higheſt character of your relation, who ſeems to have inſpired her with theſe and other good ſentiments, ſo rare in her ſex and degree. My misfortune is, I have no friend in the world by whom I can in the leaſt ingage, or have acceſs to your relation, but only by your ſelf: and I have no hopes of ſeeing you ſoon, or of your having any opportunity to ſpeak of me to her. If a letter cou'd be proper, I ſhou'd fancy it more ſo at this time than any other: provided you wou'd found it on the common report which is abroad, of my being in treaty for that lady. This might give you an occaſion of ſpeaking of me as to that part, which few beſides can know ſo well, I mean *my heart*: which, if ſhe be ſuch as really all people allow, will not diſpleaſe her to hear

† *He had a pretty retreat at* Little Chelſey, *which he fitted up according to his own fancy.*

ſo

ſo well of, as, perhaps in friendſhip and from old acquaintance, you may repreſent. If the perſon talk'd of be really my rival, and in favour with the father, I muſt own my caſe is next to deſperate; not only becauſe I truly think him, as the world goes, likely enough to make a good (at leaſt a civil) huſband; but becauſe as my aim is not fortune, and his is, he being an old friend too, I ſhou'd unwillingly ſtand between him and an eſtate; which his liberality has hitherto hinder'd him from gaining, as great as his advantages have been hitherto in the government. By what I have ſaid, I believe you may gueſs who * my ſuppos'd rival is: or if you want a farther hint, 'tis one of the chief of the *Junto*, an old friend of yours and mine, whom we long ſat with in the houſe of commons (not often voted with) but who was afterwards taken up to a higher houſe; and is as much noted for wit, and gallantry, and magnificence, as for his eloquence and courtier's character. But whether this be ſo ſuited to this meek good lady's happineſs, I know not. Fear of partiality and ſelf-love makes me not dare determine; but rather miſtruſt my ſelf, and turn the balance againſt me. Pray keep this ſecret, for I got it by chance: and if there be any thing in it, 'tis a great ſecret between the two lords themſelves. But ſometimes I fancy it is a nail, which will hardly go: tho' I am pretty certain, it has been aim'd at by this old acquaintance

* Charles Montague, *late Earl of* Halifax.

of ours, ever ſince a diſappointment happen'd from a great lord beyond ſea, who was to have had the lady.

Nothing but the ſincere friendſhip you ſhow for me, cou'd make me to continue thus to impart my privateſt affairs: and in reality, tho' they ſeem wholly private and ſelfiſh, I will not be aſham'd to own the honeſty of my heart to you; in profeſſing that the publick has much the greateſt part in all this buſtle, I am ingaging in. You have lately made me believe, and even prov'd too by experience, that I had ſome intereſt in the world; and there, where I leaſt dream't of it, with great men in power. I had always ſomething of an intereſt in my country, and with the plain honeſt people: and ſometimes I have experienced both here at home, and abroad, where I have long liv'd, and made acquaintance (in *Holland* eſpecially) that with a plain character of honeſty and diſintereſtedneſs, I have on ſome occaſions, and in dangerous urgent times of the publick, been able to do ſome good. If the increaſe of my fortune be the leaſt motive in this affair before me (as ſincerely I do not find) I will venture to ſay, it can only be in reſpect of the increaſe of my intereſt, which I may have in my country, in order to ſerve it.

One who has little notion of magnificence, and leſs of pleaſure and luxury, has not that need of riches which others have. And one who prefers tranquillity, and a little ſtudy, and a few friends,

friends, to all other advantages of life, and all the flatteries of ambition and fame, is not like to be naturally ſo very fond of ingaging in the circumſtances of marriage, I do not go ſwimmingly to it, I aſſure you: nor is the great fortune a great bait. Sorry I am, that no body with a leſs fortune, or more daughters, has had the wit to order ſuch an education. A very moderate fortune had ſerv'd my turn; or perhaps quality alone, to have a little juſtify'd me, and kept me in countenance, had I choſe ſo humbly. But now that which is rich oar, and wou'd have been the moſt eſtimable had it been beſtow'd on me, will be mere droſs, and flung away on others; who will pity and deſpiſe thoſe very advantages, which I prize ſo much. But this is one of the common places of exclamation, againſt the diſtribution of things in this world: and, upon my word, whoever brought up the proverb, 'tis no advantageous one for a providence to ſay, *matches are made in heaven.* I believe rather in favour of providence; that their is nothing which is ſo merely fortune, and more committed to the power of blind chance. So I muſt be contented, and repine the leſs at my lot, if I am diſappointed in ſuch an affair. If I ſatisfy my friends that I am not wanting to my ſelf, it's ſufficient. I am ſure you know it, by the ſound experience of all this trouble I have given, and am ſtill like to give you. Tho' I confeſs my ſelf, yet even in this

too

too I do but answer friendship, as being so sincerely and affectionately

Your most faithful friend
and humble servant,

SHAFTESBURY.

LETTER IV.

Dear SIR, *Beachworth, Nov.* 4. 1708.

I Was at *Chelsey* when I receiv'd yours with the incles'd, and was so busy'd in the imployment you had given me, by your encouragment and kind assistance in a certain affair, that I have let pass two posts without returning you thanks, for the greatest marks of your friendship, that any one can possibly receive. Indeed I might well be asham'd to receive 'em in one sense; since the * character you have given of me, is so far beyond what I dare think suitable: tho' in these cases, one may better perhaps give way to vanity than in any other. But tho' friendship has made you over favourable, there is one truth however, which your letter plainly carries with it, and must do me service. It shows that I have a real and passionate friend in you: and to have deserv'd such a friendship, must be believ'd some

* *This relates to a letter the lord* Molesworth *had written in his favour.*

sort

ſort of merit. I don't ſay this as aiming at a fine ſpeech: but in reality, where one ſees ſo little friendſhip, and of ſo ſhort continuance, as commonly in mankind; it muſt be, one wou'd think, even in the ſex's eye, a pledge of conſtancy, fidelity, and other merit, to have been able to engage and preſerve ſo laſting and firm a friendſhip with a man of worth. So that you ſee, I can find a way to reconcile my ſelf to all you have ſaid in favour of me, allowing it to have been ſpoken in paſſion; and in this reſpect the more ingaging with the ſex; who are as good or better judges than we our ſelves, of the ſincerity of affection.

But in the midſt of my courtſhip came an Eaſt-wind, and with the town-ſmoke did my buſineſs, or at leaſt wou'd have done it effectually, had I not fled hither with what breath I had left. Indeed I cou'd have almoſt laugh'd at my own misfortune: there is ſomething ſo odd in my fortune and conſtitution. You may think me melancholy, if you will. I own there was a time in publick affairs when I really was: for, ſaving your ſelf, and perhaps one or two more (I ſpeak the moſt) I had none that acted with me, againſt the injuſtice and corruption of both parties: each of them enflam'd againſt me, particularly one, becauſe of my birth and principles; the other, becauſe of my pretended apoſtacy, which was only adhering to thoſe principles on which their party was founded. There have been apoſtates

indeed

indeed ſince that time. But the days are long ſince paſt, that you and I were treated as * *Jacobites*. What to ſay for ſome companions of ours, as they are now † chang'd, I know not: but as to my own particular, I aſſure you, that ſince thoſe ſad days of the publick, which might have help'd on perhaps with that melancholy or ſpleen which you fear in me, and for certain have help'd me to this ill ſtate of health: I am now however, as free as poſſible; and even in reſpect to my health too, excepting only the air of *London*, I am, humanly ſpeaking, very paſſable: but gallantly ſpeaking, and as a courtier of the fair ſex, God knows I may be very far from paſſing. And I have that ſort of ſtubbornneſs and wilfulneſs (if that be ſpleen) that I cannot bear to ſet a better face on the matter, than it deſerves; ſo I am like to be an ill courtier, for the ſame reaſon that I am an ill jockey. It is impoſſible for me, to conceal my horſe's imperfections or my own, where I mean to diſpoſe of either. I think it unfair: ſo that cou'd any quack, by a peculiar medicine, ſet me up for a month or two, enough

* *The truly apoſtate* Whigs, *who became ſervile and arbitrary to pleaſe court empirics, branded all thoſe as* Jacobites, *who adher'd to thoſe very principles, that occaſion'd and juſtify'd the revolution.*

† *Here he means ſome who voted with him in his favourite bills, and who were originally* Whigs; *but out of pique and diſappointment, became if not real* Jacobites (*which was ſcarce poſſible*) *yet in effect as bad, by promoting all the deſigns peculiar to that deſperate party.*

to

to go through with my courtſhip; I wou'd not accept his offer, unleſs I cou'd miraculouſly *be made whole*. Now for a country health and a town neighbourhood, I am found and well: but for a town life, whether it be for buſineſs or diverſion, 'tis out of my compaſs.

I ſay all this; that you may know my true ſtate, and how deſperate a man you ſerve, and in how deſperate a caſe. Shou'd any thing come of it, the friendſhip will appear the greater: or if nothing, the friendſhip will appear the ſame ſtill, as to me my ſelf. Your letter was deliver'd: I hope you will hear ſoon in anſwer to it. The old lord continues wonderful kind to me, and I hear has lately ſpoken of me ſo to others. Our publick affairs at home will be much chang'd, by the late death of the * prince. But I have been able to ſee no body: ſo won't attempt to write, and will end here with the aſſurance of my being,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt obliged and

faithful friend and ſervant,

SHAFTESBURY.

* *The prince of* Denmark.

LET-

LETTER V.

Dear SIR, *Chelſey Nov.* 20. 1708.

I Came hither from *Surrey* but yeſterday, and found your ſecond letter; which if I had not receiv'd, I ſhou'd however not have fail'd writing this poſt about our changes talk'd of, which I hope will be to the publick advantage. As to the admirality, and the conſequences of keeping it in the adminiſtration, it had lain under during the prince's time, you knew my mind fully, as well as my opinion of this preſent lord, who, I hope, may with certainty be called *lord high admiral*. 'Tis lord *Pembroke* I mean, who with great reluctancy at laſt accepts it, I believe: tho' he plainly ſaid (as I have been inform'd) that he was inſerted only to ſerve a turn, and that another great lord (the favorite of our Whig-party) was at the bottom intended, and wou'd in ſome time ſucceed him. But I really believe things ſtand on a better bottom: and, that as ſtrictly as the lord *Somers* is bound to the party of friends with whom he roſe, he has yet that wiſdom, and with-all that regard to his country's intereſt, eſpecially under a miniſtry of which he is like to have ſo great a ſhare; that however the low *Whigs*, may murmur, he will be glad to ſee the naval affairs, in the hands of ſo univerſally belov'd a man, ſo honourable and uncorrupt as lord *Pembroke*.

By

By this you will find I take for granted, that lord *Somers* comes into the place talk'd of for him of *president of the council*; and believe it is true that he has kiſs'd the queen's hand, tho' not directly as a miniſter receiv'd. But pretty near it you may believe: ſince at this time of mourning (and ſo ſincere a mourner as the queen is) ſhe hardly wou'd ſee a ſtranger, and which is more, a man ſo eſtrang'd from her, and ſo wholly off from the court as lord *Somers* has been, and whom I ſcarce believe ſhe has admitted at any time to kiſs her hand; he having been for certain the prince's averſion, as you may judge by thoſe, who chiefly influenc'd the prince, and were the violenteſt enemies lord *Somers* had. I muſt confeſs I ever wiſh'd well to this correſpondence, there now is between lord *Somers* and our * lord; but can pretend to have had no ſhare in effecting it. With all the other lords of the *Junto*, I have maintain'd only a very cool and diſtant acquaintance: but I have ever diſtinguiſh'd lord *Somers*, and believe ſo well both of our lord and him, that the union between them is upon a handſomer and better bottom, than that of giving up their particular friends on either ſide; and even lord *Pembroke*, (a *Tory*) on whom all this turns, is a proof, I think, that this change is not wholly a party matter.

Lord *Wharton* indeed is true ſteel: but as little partiality as I have for him, and as ill an opi-

* *The lord treaſurer.*

nion of his private life and principles, I fancy his good understanding will make him show himself a better lord lieutenant, than is expected. More changes I know not of: nor do I believe many are to be expected.

Forgive this hasty sheet I here inclose to you. 'Tis late, and I shall miss this night's post sending hence to town: so add only my constant and sincere profession of being,

Dear SIR,

Your obliged friend and faithful humble servant,

SHAFTESBURY.

LETTER VI.

Dear SIR, *Beachworth,* Nov. 25. 1708.

I Shou'd be very sorry if you miss'd mine, of last post but one, from *Chelsey*, in which I writ you my whole thoughts of the changes.

The parliament has now sat, and for the first trying question we have lost the *ballot*, tho' but by nine. Our friends stuck fast. But kindness to this ministry, which the best men are willing to favour, made the struggle not so great as might be. Sir *Peter King*, our friend, spoke worthily for it. Sir *Joseph Jekyl*, and all those did as before, and went on our side. The late speakers beset the † new

† *Sir* Richard Onslow, *since created lord* Onslow.

new one; and he will have I fear a hard taſk, if this be not an eaſy ſeſſions, as our great news and glorious ſucceſs abroad is like to make it.

As for my ſelf and private affairs (with which I did not trouble you in my laſt long one) you may judge by the place where I am, that they go not on very ſmartly. Making court any where, or in any ſenſe, I find is not among my talents, if I have any. I have done more in this affair, than I thought it poſſible for me to have done, having ſo great an opinion (as I ſtill have) of the lady. But it is hard, even for us men, to know our ſelves: harder for women, however wiſe. She may like a younger man and a ſprightlier, far better perhaps than ſuch a one as I am. But I believe ſuch a one will not ſo like or value her as I do; or in the main make her ſo happy, ſo vain I am. But whatever my thoughts are of my ſelf, I am not us'd to ſet my ſelf off for my intereſt-ſake, and make the beſt of what I have. Health I have not in the higheſt degree. Be it ſpleen, or real infirmity, 'tis the ſame misfortune to a lady. Cou'd I make a ſhow of health with ſafety, and purſue the lady, where I might have opportunity to win her liking by this means, and appearing better without doors than I am within at ordinary hours; I wou'd not do this, whatever depended on it. But as the ſeaſon is, and the ſevere North-eaſt winds, and town-ſmoke, I am driven from my quarters at *Chelſey*; and think not that I ſhall be able to return there, till the

ſtrength of the winter is over: ſo will take the firſt fair weather, to go to my winter quarters at † *St. Giles*'s. A thouſand thanks to you for your kind concern in an affair, which I have taken ſo much to heart. Your writing again in anſwer, as you did the firſt poſt, was mighty right, to me extremely obliging. If I ſee the leaſt glimmering of hope, you ſhall be ſure to know. I have given order at *Chelſey* about the vines: adieu, dear Sir. I am

Moſt faithfully yours,

SHAFTESBURY.

Sir *John* and Mr. *Mickleth-wayt* (who are both here at this inſtant, rejoicing with me on the good news from abroad) deſire very earneſtly to have their humble ſervices preſented to you.

LETTER VII.

Dear SIR, *Beach-worth,* Jan. 6. 1708-9.

HAD I not by accident heard long ſince, that you were on the road to town, you may be ſure I ſhou'd be imploying the leiſure time I have here, in writing to you: eſpecially after ſuch long and friendly letters, as I have lately receiv'd from you on publick and private ſubjects;

† *His paternal ſeat in* Dorſetſhire, *which he us'd highly to commend; and indeed I have heard it as much admir'd by others.*

and

and in which you are ſo favourable to me, as to lay a ſtreſs upon my jugdment and opinion in the affairs of my country: which of late years I have been forc'd to look on at a diſtance, without any thing that can be call'd * a ſhare in 'em my ſelf, I muſt own, I began of late to flatter my ſelf, with a way of ſervice I little dreamt of, and which I never thought my ſelf capable of or qualify'd for † heretofore. I never thought I ſhou'd ſee any of the great men at court ſo inclinable to publick good, as to regard or hearken to a man, who had chiefly that at heart: and, to ſay truth of my ſelf, I always thought I had a ſtubborneſs of nature, which wou'd hinder me from making a right advantage of good miniſters, when ever we ſhou'd come to have any ſuch. But the being taken down very early in my life, from thoſe high imaginations I had, and thoſe hopes of doing ſervice in the plain way of buſineſs and parliaments, the mortification wrought ſo far in my advantage, that I became milder and more tractable: and in this condition you found me, when you laid hold of an opportunity, and with a moſt particular mark of friendſhip, recommended me to a ** great man, and brought me under obligation to him. The little time I have had ſince with him, I employ'd the beſt I cou'd, in ſuch advices and ſuch offer of ſervice as became me.

* *By reaſon of his aſthma*

† *Giving advice to thoſe at the helm, of which no man was more capable, both in reſpect of ability and integrity.*

** *The l.r.l treaſurer.*

Nor do I think I have been any way unfortunate, in giving the leaſt offence; or raiſing that frightful idea, which courtiers are apt to have of patriots and men of rigid virtue. I flatter my ſelf egregiouſly, or I am well in his opinion, and have loſt no ground. But if it be ſo, and as I faithfully believe: I will be ſworn, there never was a more diſintereſs'd man in his ſtation: for if I may judge by my ſelf, he leaves it to his friends and thoſe he has oblig'd, to be grateful, and to act for him as they fancy, and as their heart prompts 'em; but for his part, he lays no burdens, nor requires any ſervice in return.

But this however ought not to leſſen the zeal and earneſt endeavour of one who is oblig'd, and in a truly honeſt man it muſt increaſe it; and this, for his own ſake, I wiſh he may be wiſe enough to know: for I had rather ſuch goodneſs of his ſhou'd come from reflection, than mere natural temper and generoſity; for he that can ſee ſo deep into hearts, and comprehend the myſtery of honeſty (a real myſtery in moſt courts) will never want any of thoſe generous inclinations which make a worthy character. But the misfortune is, we honeſt men (if I may ſpeak thus preſumptuouſly of my ſelf) are a little myſterious our ſelves. There is a cloud over us, which is hard to be clear'd up. The rugged paths we walk through, give us a rugged pace; and the idle ſupine illiterate creatures of a court-education, have a thouſand advantages above us: and can eaſier borrow from

from our character than we from theirs; tho' of right there ſhou'd be nothing fair or handſome, in which we ſhou'd come behind 'em. And it ought to be a ſhame, that a mere courtier ſhou'd, for his intereſt-ſake, be more aſſiduous and better behav'd in every reſpect; than the man, who makes court for his country, and tries to profit of the good diſpoſition of great men in power. Our friend *Horace* found the difficulty and weight of this, in the caſe of an honeſt man, who lov'd his great * friend, but ſcorn'd to be a ſlave,

† *Scurrantis ſpeciem præbere, profeſſus amicum*;

And therefore (with a ſigh, to be ſure) he ſays,

‡ *Dulcis inexpertis cultura potentis amici,*
Expertus metuit——

But we have a better cauſe than *Horace*, or his friend *Lollius*, whom he writes to; and therefore ſhould ſtrive to do more. They had only themſelves to ſerve, but we our country and mankind. And there was a great difference between thoſe miniſters whom they courted, and the miniſter our friend; for their miniſtry was the enſlaving of their country, and the world; this miniſtry is the very delivering of both, and the foundation of a nobler ſtructure of liberty (by a juſt *balance* of *power* at home and abroad) than ever was yet laid by mankind. They are in ſo good a way, they can ſcarce miſcarry. Nor can they fail

* *Mecenas.* † *Lib.* 1. *Epiſt.* 18. *ver.* 2. ‡ *Ibid. ver.* 86.

fail of reward in the juſt eſteem and gratitude of the publick, if they are not moſt unhappily wanting to themſelves in their private friendſhips. But if truſting to their publick merit, or to their intereſt in their prince, they either make no friends, or ſuch as have not courage and wiſdom, their enemies will find advantages againſt 'em in any ſtate of affairs.

As our preſent affairs ſtand, I am ſure a miniſter has need to be fortify'd with good friends and honeſt adviſers. He ought to know how he ſtands with the publick, how every action and ſtep is conſtrued, and what the people think of matters, before the proof comes in a parliament. 'Tis my opinion, that a peace is not ſo near, as it may ſeem. I know the hard circumſtances the *Dutch* lie under, will make them preſs for the firſt terms, that ſeem any way advantageous. But matters are not at preſent to be tranſacted by a whiſper, between two gentlemen of the blade; and others muſt have the ſecret communicated to them, beſides * a *Monſieur Boufleurs* or *Milor Portland:* ſo great a change has happen'd ſince that laſt peace, both in the government of *England*, as well as *Holland!* and a chancellor here apprehends another ſort of duty, as well as a penſioner

* *Theſe made the famous* partition-treaty, *which was ſo ill reliſh'd in* England, *and rejected by the parliament. For a while it was kept very ſecret, which circumſtance alone is a juſt preſumption, that a treaty is not for the advantage or honour of the nation.*

there,

there, thanks to the *Tory* gentlemen, for this their notable furtherance of the prerogative. For I was one of thoſe ſorrowful *Whigs*, who bemoaned the ſad caſe of our conſtitution, according to which the power of peace and war was wholly in the prince; whilſt the *Tories* ſaw plainly that it was otherwiſe, and cou'd impeach a lord † chancellor for placing the ſeal, where I ſincerely thought he cou'd not refuſe to do it at his prince's command. But let lord-chancellors, and other miniſters look to themſelves. If our conſtitution was not ſo then, it is become ſo now: for not the abſolute command, the obſtinacy, the raſhneſs, or ill judgment of the prince himſelf (tho' ever ſo much a principal in the caſe, or tho' ſingle, or by himſelf) can juſtify or excuſe the leaſt flaw in a treaty; for which the miniſters are with their heads to be anſwerable to the people, as by late precedents it has been eſtabliſh'd. Theſe difficulties may eaſily ſhow a wiſe miniſter, that he has need of very diſcerning, bold, and honeſt friends; and ſuch as are not only able by their advice to aſſiſt him, but by their intereſt and credit, be as it were hoſtages and pledges for him to the publick, and to that conceal'd party of ſober and honeſt men: who, as few as they are, and as little noiſy, have a much greater part in the influence of affairs, than miniſters are apt to think; eſpecially thoſe miniſters, who affect a high contempt of

† *Lord* Somers. *Lord* Portland *was alſo impeach'd; as were at the ſame time the lords* Orford *and* Halifax.

coffee-

coffee-houſes and *pamphlets*. But it's time to end my ſcrawl, and tell you the chief reaſon of it over leaf.

I have been ſhamefully tedious about publick affairs, but will be ſhorter about private; after only asking, how comes it you are not in parliament? For your own ſake perhaps I am not ſo much concern'd; for I know too well what hardſhips lie upon one, who will not be a ſlave to a party † and ſuch men ſhou'd be rather reſerv'd for the moſt hazardous and calamitous times, when publick neceſſity and common danger make their merits and opinion better regarded. But for a good ‡ lord's ſake I am ſorry you are not there: for tho' you may ſerve him leſs invidiouſly, and with more ſatisfaction perhaps to himſelf, in another ſtation; yet he wants thoſe in ſuch a body as the houſe of commons, who are friends to his miniſtry, and yet free to act for thoſe they repreſent. This I know may be ſhocking in many caſes: and if it be ſo, and the difficulty be invincible, I congratulate your eſcape; but condole with another perſon the want of a more truly refin'd policy, than I ſee is underſtood at court.

As for my affair, it hangs juſt as it did. The more I learn from all hands, the more I ſee, and

† *He does not mean their care ſhould be in proſecuting, which often proves a worſe remedy than the diſeaſe; but by conſidering the contents of them, and thereby judging of the ſentiments of the people, or at leaſt of ſome party among them.*

‡ *Lord treaſurer.*

hear,

hear, and obſerve, the more I incline, but hope leſs: for if I had not fears, that I am wholly diſregarded on the ſide of another ſex, I am confident I cou'd go further in prevailing, and ſhou'd have better intereſt in our own, than any other. I have this reaſon, that beſides a declaration in my favour, with a liking of my character, family, circumſtances, with the profeſſion of a ſincere friendſhip, which has been of long ſtanding, and all other commendations and profeſſions that I cou'd modeſtly wiſh or deſire, beſides all this (I ſay) I have a merit that no body elſe will rival me in, for I wou'd be glad of obtaining upon any terms: and that which is ſo hard to be parted with, is what I ſeek not either now, or in reverſion. And let this be a token to you, that I am not cool or indifferent, as you ſuſpect and reproach me in one of your letters. I wou'd with all my ſoul ingage my ſelf this moment to the perſon (were I but lik'd) with a renunciation of every thing of intereſt or fortune, either preſent, or to come; and if I loſe the perſon, even thus, I ſhall eſteem it a loſs: and whenever I ſhall think of ingaging elſe where (if this be loſt to me) I ſhall ſhow that money is not ſo mighty a thing in my eſteem, that it ſhou'd ſeem incredible for me to purſue in ſuch a diſintereſs'd manner.

But ſurely you will not think this ſo ſtrange in me, that I ſhou'd value virtue ſo much, and wealth ſo little. And now that I have ſpent a whole page upon my ſelf (contrary to my promiſe)

com-

committing my self and my affair wholly to you; and resolving to take your judgment on it, I wait your advices, and remain, dear Sir,

Your most obliged
and ever faithful friend
and humble servant,
SHAFTESBURY.

If you direct to me to Sir *John*'s here at *Beachworth* in *Surrey*, by *Darking-bagg*, the post will bring your letter quick; but if any thing of great importance, a servant of mine shall come away at any time from *Chelsey*, to bring what you have to communicate: or perhaps Mr. *Micklethwayt*, who is often coming hither (generally once a week) may be the conveyor; at least he will send it to *Chelsey*, or see it safe convey'd, if you direct him.

LETTER VIII.

Dear SIR, Beachworth, Jan. 12 1708-9.

THAT you might not be in pain on my account; I took the resolution, as soon as I had read yours, to send an answer away with the soonest, without waiting the return of the post. So this, which is writ late to night, will I hope come to you to-morrow evening by the penny-post, since it is to be in town before noon. And glad

glad one is of any opportunity of a meſſenger, ſuch as go by neceſſity on their own buſineſs, and on foot: for our ſervants and horſes cannot ſtir out of this bottom, where we are block'd up by the deep ſnows; and, what is worſe, the melted ſnow now turn'd again by the froſt into a cruſted ice.

I was already on my journey to the weſt, with my face (in the *Jewiſh* phraſe) towards St. *Giles*'s; but now I am a ſojourner here of neceſſity. I can neither go backward nor forward; nor cou'd I, tho' I were a robuſt man: but as a tender one, I know not what will become of me, or my affairs. For no body's affairs ever requir'd their preſence more than mine do at this time, and have done this good while in the country.

But now, as to what you write to me of your being in concern for, on my account, you need fear no reſentment or reproach from me on that ſcore. I have that intire dependance on my friend, that I can always commit my affairs and ſecrets to him as plenipotentiary; and where I have once given my heart (allow a lover to ſpeak in lover's language) I can eaſily intruſt my intereſt. You have long had my heart, even before I knew you perſonally. For the holy and truly pious man, who reveal'd the greateſt of myſteries; he, who with a truly generous love to mankind and his country, pointed out the *ſtate of Denmark* to other ſtates, and prophely'd of the things highlieſt important to the growing age: he, I ſay, had

already gain'd me as his ſworn friend, before he was ſo kind as to make friendſhip reciprocal, by his acquaintance and expreſs'd eſteem. So that you may believe it no extraordinary tranſition in me, from making you in truth my oracle in publick affairs, to make you a thorough confident in my private. All therefore, that I am concern'd for, in this bold attempt of yours, is for your own ſake; leſt your partiality to me, ſhou'd have made you too forward in ſhowing what was not ſo worthy of being ſeen as you imagine, and people are apt to think ſuch things are from deſign. For my own part, I cou'd not but wonder with my ſelf a great while (for I cou'd with difficulty recollect) what kind of a letter I had writ you: and it is really a ſolemn law, which I impoſe on my ſelf in reſpect of my near friends, never to write but with the freedom, haſtineſs, and incorrectneſs of common talk; that they may have all as it comes uppermoſt. And for this, I can appeal to my late letters, and all that I have writ you on my love ſubject: for I am confident, I never ſo much as read over one, that I wrote to you on that head. But be it as it will, if what happen'd was but natural (and of that you are beſt judge) I am ſatisfy'd; and hope it may prove for the beſt, as you ſeem ſo poſitively to aſſure. And for the other part, my love affair, uſing the ſame good judgment you have in this as well as in the other, do as you judge beſt. I leave all to you: only ſhou'd be ſorry that you ran the leaſt hazard,

in

in going too far out of doors this weather. And therefore beg that your zeal for me wou'd not puſh you, to what wou'd be a real trouble for me to hear. Take your time, uſe your own way, act for me with full power, and report your judgment.

If I have that intereſt you intimate in a * great man, I can aſſure you as well for the publick's ſake, as for my own (in real love and obligation to him) I will not indulge my ſelf in any reſpect; but be a courtier to my utmoſt, and ſee him often at *St. James's*, *Kenſington*, *Windſor*, or where-ever he is. Only my health will not bear with any kind of attendance in winter-time, when I am forc'd to attend upon my ſelf; and by that care, and ſparing of my ſelf, have recover'd (when by nothing elſe I cou'd) out of the moſt languiſhing condition for three or four years: for which I have endur'd (and muſt endure it ſeems, becauſe of the ſingularity of my diſtemper) the judgment of the world, as one fantaſtical and ſplenetick. But my near friends, thoſe of all hours, and that ſee me in all circumſtances, can beſt witneſs for me as to that: tho' perhaps, now they are for advancing me in matrimony, they may magnify my bodily eſtate, at the hazard of that of my mind, which is leſs (they think) a fair lady's concern. But I like not the ſtratagem, and deſire to appear in truth what I am; only if I am more careful of my health againſt the time of ſuch an

† *Lord treaſurer.*

ingagement, I may be the more excus'd: and indeed it is but after all what is neceſſary to preſerve me, if I am worth preſerving for any good I can do the publick, or my friends. Never any one cou'd more juſtly aſk that leave, which you yourſelf aſk of me,

*-----*Ægrotare timenti*, &c.

And therefore, I hope as ſoon as the hardeſt of the winter has ſpent it ſelf (which is ſpending apace) I ſhall return,

† *Cum zephyris, ſi concedes, & hirundine prima.*

Forgive this habit of long letters, which you have encourag'd. I reſt

Faithfully yours,

SHAFTESBURY.

LETTER IX.

Dear SIR, *St. Giles's, Febr.* 21. 1708-9

HOW ſhall I ſufficiently acknowledge the kind ſervices you have lately done me? You may well ſay indeed, that you love not *to do things by halves.* I am ſure you are an intire friend; and I am not ſurpriz'd to find you ſo: for when my acquaintance with you was only upon publick affairs, I never found you a half-patriot. We were then fellow-ſufferers, for being *ſo wholly* what we pretended: and the world, I be-

* *Hor. Lib.* 1. *Ep.* 7. *ver.* 4. † *Ibid. ver.* 13.

I believe, has made us but little amends ſince: 'Tis pleaſant to imagine, that, if we have met with better fortune, it has been by means of one another. Wou'd I cou'd make it indeed thoroughly reciprocal! for, on my ſide, I may truly ſay, that the firſt turning of the ſtream, which had run againſt me, was by your hand; and in this moſt deſperate caſe (which was the injury I receiv'd in an injur'd friend) you inſtantly ſet all right; and what I had with pain, and trouble, and all manner of ill uſage, been ſoliciting for many years, you accompliſh'd for me in a few weeks, and gave me my firſt friend at court. After this miracle, I have had faith enough to think you might do any thing. Indeed I did not think you cou'd have conquer'd ſnows and froſts, and have brav'd the hardeſt winter-weather. Yet 'twas in this ſeaſon that you made ſuch a ſucceſsful ſally for me, and gave me ſo good an account of my affairs, which I was almoſt come to think wholly deſperate.

But your ſhort and long letter (which have both come ſafe to me) as well as the account receiv'd from my friends the poſt before, give me new hopes. I wiſh I cou'd anſwer as well in the matter of my health, as I can in all other reſpects, where you have kindly been undertaker and guarantee for me. If I am more careful of my health now than before, 'tis becauſe I have this occaſion: and that the more than ordinary care I have had of it of late, has ſucceeded ſo well with me.

This I am ſure of, that I am ſo far from being averſe to live in the world, and to have a ſhare in the converſe and affairs of it; that had I a wife that was diſcreet, and good, and capable of advice, I ſhou'd more than any one be deſirous of her being much in the world, and ſupplying that part for me. My bookiſhneſs has ſo little reaſon to fright any one, that if I had ever been of a temper to love books, better than the converſation of my friends and relations; I am now really neceſſitated to lay them by, for no body wants little amuſements more than I do. And tho' on account of my mind I cou'd boaſt perhaps, that, in the greateſt ſolitude, I cou'd vie with any one for eaſe and cheerfullneſs; yet ſince the change that happen'd in my health, I am not able to apply as formerly; nor even ſtudy above an hour at a time, or hardly as much more in a whole day. And I, who had gone thro' the diverſions and entertainment of ſome courts, and foreign countries, and in the company of ladies, without ever once playing at cards, or knowing any ſuch thing as play; I'm of late become a card-player with the women, and am better qualify'd for chat with them, than for ſpeeches in a parliament or works in a ſtudy. Thus moſt things have their convenience and inconvenience. 'Tis certain, that in many reſpects I may be ſaid to make a better huſband now, that my hands are ty'd; than I ſhou'd have done, if I had been left to act to the utmoſt of my ſtrength in politicks. There is a ſelfiſhneſs

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in the love that is paid a wife, and in the attendance on a family, and all the little affairs of it; which, had I my full ſcope of action in the publick, I ſhou'd hardly have ſubmitted to. An honeſt man muſt certainly be the greateſt happineſs of an honeſt woman. But then, there is bitter too with the ſweet; for an honeſt man will love the publick, and act honeſtly in the publick: and if he does ſo, 'tis two to one but he is hard ſet, and perhaps ground between the parties; at leaſt he will have but a ſolicitous life of it. He can't ſo well *vacare uxori* as the knave: but then the knave will be a knave to her, and *vacare* to other women inſtead of her. And thus upon a *medium*, I look upon my ſelf as in reality better qualify'd than ever for a good huſband, if it be to a truly good woman, whoſe chief ſatisfaction wou'd be a converſible and chearful way of living, with a man who lov'd and valu'd her; and whoſe chief thoughts and time wou'd be beſtow'd on her and her children, and to make her life as agreeable as cou'd be to her ſelf, and her part in the world as conſiderable.

But to come to practice after my doctrine, you may depend upon it, I will not be long 'ere I return again to you: and tho' after a long abſence, and the death of an old ſervant who had all my affairs here in his hands, I have found things in great diſorder, I ſhou'd value no loſs of this kind. The weather ſeems now to break: and if the roads (as in a fortnight or three weeks they may be)

be) become paſſable, and the weather tolerable, I will ſoon come and make my ſecond attempt, with all the ſtrength of friends that I can make on my ſide. And if I can but have the leaſt kind help from within the place, we may be able to carry it.

'T is a ſad caſe for ſuch a one as I am; to hang in ſuſpence in an affair of this kind, where I am ſo paſſionately engag'd. I find it worſe perhaps than another, becauſe I am ſo us'd to have my head free for publick affairs and thoughts of a larger kind. But I proteſt, tho' I have twenty things to ſay to you about the publick, I can't come out with one. Forgive me I beg you, and place it to the account of that zeal I have in an affair, you have thus forwarded, and is in your hands; as is intirely

Your oblig'd friend,

SHAFTESBURY.

LETTER X.

Dear SIR, St. Giles's, March 7. 1708-9.

I Shou'd indeed have been concern'd very much at your ſilence, had I not known of your health by your friends and mine, with whom you lately din'd. I fear'd your conſtitution wou'd ſuffer by this extremity of weather, we have had. The town-ſmoke, I think, is no addition to this evil in

in your reſpect: but with me it wou'd have been deſtruction. The happineſs of a moſt healthy and warm, as well as pleaſant ſituation, where I am, and which I may really praiſe beyond any I have known in *England*, has preſerv'd me in better health this winter, than I cou'd have imagin'd. And I deſign to profit of the ſtock I have laid up, and come ſoon where I may have the happineſs of converſing with you. But now you have led me into the talk of friendſhip, and have ſo kindly expoſtulated with me about my thanks, let me in my turn expoſtulate too about your excuſes for your letters, or even for your omiſſion. I well know you wou'd not forget me, were there any thing that friendſhip requir'd. For the reſt, friendſhip requires that we ſhou'd be eaſy, and make each other ſo. 'Tis an injuſtice to a real friend, to deny one's ſelf the being lazy, when one has a mind to it. I have profeſs'd to you, that I take that liberty my ſelf, and wou'd uſe it if there were occaſion. But beſides other inequalities that are between us, over and above thoſe you reckon'd up; conſider that, together with my full leiſure and retreat here in the country (by which means I have choice of hours to write when I fancy) I have alſo a ſecret and private intereſt that puſhes me forward to be writing to you, as often and as much as I can. I am aſham'd things ſhou'd ſtand ſo unequally between us: for you have not yet had a fair trial, what a correſpondent I ſhou'd prove upon equal terms, nor can I impute a ſingle letter

letter of mine to mere friendſhip. But I am more aſham'd ſtill, when I, who ſhou'd make excuſes, am forc'd to receive 'em. See if you are not over-generous! for any one, beſides your ſelf, wou'd be apt to uſe a little raillery with a man in my circumſtances; that had ſuch an affair depending, and wholly in your hands. But I find you have too much gallantry, as well as friendſhip, to take the leaſt advantage of a lover; and are willing to place more to the account of friendſhip, than I can ſuffer without bluſhing. However, be ſecure of this; that when you take intentions inſtead of facts, you can never impute more to me in the way of friendſhip, than I really deſerve. And if I have not yet had the occaſion, of proving my ſelf as I wou'd do to you in this reſpect; I am ſatisfy'd, if the occaſion offer'd, you wou'd not find me remiſs. In the mean time, pray uſe me with more iudulgence, and ſhow me that you can uſe me as a friend, by writing only when you have a fancy, and no more than you have a fancy for. You can't imagine what a favour I ſhou'd take it, to receive a ſhorter and a worſe letter from you, than you wou'd write perhaps to any friend you had in the world beſides. 'Tis a law I ſet my ſelf with my near and intimate friends, to write in every humour, or neglect writing as I fancy: and from this ſettled negligence I grow a right correſpondent, and write when I ſcarce think of it, by making thus free with thoſe I write to. If you will take my humour as it runs, you ſhall have hearty thanks too

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into the bargain, for taking it off at this rate. Let me but have a ſmall ſcrap or ſcrawl (three or four ſizes below the firſt of your letters, after the late conference) and I ſhall think my ſelf not only favourably, but kindly and friendly dealt with.

* *Nardi parvus onyx eliciet cadum.*

The truth is, I long for another ſuch precious ſcrap, as I had after your firſt attempt for me; that if you are as ſucceſsful in a ſecond, and find that your good advice has made impreſſion, and that there be a real foundation of hope, I may come up quickly to make my ſecond attempt upon my old friend.

Your ſtory of friendſhip cou'd not but delight me, it being one of my darling ** pieces: eſpecially being in an author, who, tho' he perpetually does all he can, to turn all morality and virtue into ridicule: is yet forc'd to pay this, and one or two more remarkable tributes of acknowledgment, to the principle of ſociety and friendſhip, which is the real principle of life; the end of life, and not (as ſome philoſophers wou'd have it) the means. *Horace* in his wild days was of another opinion: but when he came in a riper age to ſtate the queſtion,

† *Quidve ad amicitias, uſus rectumve trahat nos?*

* *Hor. Lib. 4. Od. 12. ver. 17.*

** *This ſtory, which is well worth peruſing, is in* Lucian's Toxaris, *or* diſcourſe of friendſhip.

† *Ibid. ver. 75.*

he

he always gives it for the latter; and wou'd not allow virtue to be a mere name. Let who will despise friendship, or deny a social principle; they will, if they are any thing ingenuous, be urg'd one time or another to confess the power of it: and if they enjoy it not themselves, will admire or envy it in others. And when they have inverted the whole matter of life, and made friendships, and acquaintances, and alliances, serve only as a means to the great and sole end of interest; they will find by certain tokens within their own breasts, that they are short of their true and real interests of life; for this is in reality,

Propter vitam vivendi perdere causas.

Your judgment too, of the first of the parts in the story of friendship, is in my opinion perfectly just. My natural ambition in friendship, made me wish to be the poor man rather of the two: tho' since I have lately had to deal with a rich one, I have wish'd often to change parts; and keeping the wealth I have, wou'd fain have my old friend to be heartily poor, and accordingly make an experiment of me by such a legacy. But I am afraid, he hardly thinks me capable of accepting of it: or if he did, I know not whether he wou'd think the more favourably of me. Mine is a hard case indeed, when I am on one side oblig'd to act so disinterest'd a part; and yet must be careful on the other side, lest for not loving money, I shou'd be thought an ill son-in-law, and unfit

unfit to be intruſted with any thing. Thus you ſee I mix love and philoſophy: and ſo I ſhou'd politicks and publick affairs with private, if my place at this time was not the country, and yours the town. However, I can't forbear intreating you to ſend me word, whether the propoſal about * *Dunkirk* was from our friend in the miniſtry or not? for I heard he diſlik'd it, or ſeem'd to do ſo; and for the laſt there may be good reaſon, as he is a ſtateſman: for the former, I can ſee none, but am rather inclin'd to think, that as a generous and true ſtateſman, he had for many reaſons (in reſpect of foreign and home affairs) contriv'd that the propoſal ſhou'd ſeem to have its riſe from a popular heat; rather than from the cabinet council, and as a deliberate thought. But if my own thought of it be fond, 'tis in the way of friendſhip ſtill: for I cou'd wiſh a friend the happineſs of being author of every publick good, that was poſſible for him, and not to be a hindrance or obſtruction to any.

To conclude, one word about my private affair, and I ha' done for this time. I beg you, when you have been your viſits, and made your utmoſt effort to ſee what foundation I may hope for, you wou'd write me a line inſtantly. For tho' I have private affairs of ſome conſequence, that ſhou'd keep me here at leaſt a month or ſix

* *The demoliſhing of its fortifications and ruining of its harbour, which was firſt propos'd in the unaccompliſh'd treaties of the* Hague *and* Gertruydenburg, 1703.

weeks longer, I will deſpiſe all of that kind: and, now the roads are paſſable and weather tolerable, will come up at a week's warning; if a man who loves and admires is known, tho' never ſeen, can poſſibly be favor'd, or thought to deſerve. For if ſo, the cauſe is nobler, and there is a better foundation for acting boldly.

Adieu, Adieu.

LETTER XI.

Dear SIR, Beachworth, June 3. 1709.

'TIS now long ſince I had fix'd my thoughts on nothing, but the happineſs of ſeeing you; and profiting of thoſe advantages, which the perfecteſt friendſhip, with the greateſt addreſs; and indefatigable pains, had compaſs'd in my behalf. There was nothing I might not have hop'd from ſuch a foundation as you had laid: and all the enchantments in the world cou'd not have held proof, had my ſad fate allow'd me but to have follow'd my guide, and executed what my general had ſo ably deſign'd. But not a ſtar, but has been my enemy. I had hardly got over the unnatural winter, but with all the zeal imaginable I diſpatch'd my affairs, and came up from the weſt, thinking to ſurprize you by a viſit. The hurry I came away in, and the fatigue of more than ordinary buſineſs, I was forc'd to diſpatch that very morning I ſet out, join'd with the

the ill weather which return'd again upon my journey, threw me into one of my ill fits of the *Aſthma*, and almoſt kill'd me on the road. After a few weeks I got this over, and my hopes reviv'd: and laſt week I went to *Chelſey*, paid my viſit next day to the old man, found him not at home, reſolv'd to redouble my viſits, and once more endeavour to move him. But the winds return'd to their old quarter, I had *London* ſmoke on me for a day or two; grew extreamly ill with it, and was forc'd to retire hither, where I have but juſt recover'd breath.

What ſhall I do in ſuch a caſe? To trouble you further, I am aſham'd; aſham'd too, that I ſhou'd have puſh'd ſuch an affair, to which my ſtrength was ſo little ſuitable: and yet aſham'd to deſiſt, after what I have done, and the vaſt trouble I have put you to. But fortune has at length taught me that leſſon of philoſophy, *to know my ſelf*, my conſtitution I mean: for my mind (in this reſpect at leaſt) I know full well. And I wiſh in all other things I cou'd be as unerring and perfect, as I have been in this affair; in which I am certain no ambition, or thought of intereſt, has had any part: though it may look as if all my aim had been fortune, and not the perſon and character of the lady, as I have pretended. But in this I dare almoſt ſay with aſſurance, *you know my heart*. Whether the lady does, or ever will, God knows: for I have ſcarce the heart left to tell it her, had I the opportunity.

So much for my ſad fortune.

I hope however to be at *Chelſey* again in a few days, and I long for the happineſs of ſeeing you there: for I have no hopes of being able to wait on you at your lodgings.

If the Queen goes ſoon to *Windſor*, I hope ſoon to ſee the great man, our friend; whom I can eaſier viſit there, than at St. *James*'s. He has been ſo kind to enquire after me with particular favour, and has ſent me a kind meſſage in relation to publick affairs.

I am, Dear SIR,
Your moſt obliged friend,
and faithful humble ſervant,
SHAFTESBURY.

LETTER XII.

My dear friend, *Chelſey, June* 15. 1709.

I Was this day to wait again on my old Lord. I found him as civil and obliging as ever. But when I came to make mention of my affair, I found the ſubject was uneaſy to him. I did but take occaſion, when he ſpoke in praiſe of my little houſe and ſtudy, to tell him I built it in a different view from what his lordſhip knew me to have of late: for I had then (I told him) no thoughts beyond a ſingle life. I wou'd have added, that ſince I was unhappy in my firſt offer, and

and had turned my thoughts as I had lately done, when I flattered my ſelf in the hopes of his favour, I cou'd no longer enjoy the place or his neighbourhood, with the ſatisfaction I had done before.——But I found he was deaf on this ear. He ſeemed to expreſs all the uneaſineſs that cou'd be, and I cou'd go no further. I ſee there is no hope left for me. If he thought any one ſincere, I believe I might be as likely as any one to be truſted by him. But I am afraid he thinks but the worſe of me, for pretending to value his daughter as I do: and for proteſting, that I wou'd be glad to take her without a farthing, preſent or future; and yet ſettle all I have, as I have offer'd him. He will not eaſily find ſuch a friend and ſon-in-law; one that has ſuch a regard for him and his.

But ſo it muſt be. He may ſuffer perhaps as well as I. There is no help for this, when men are too crafty to ſee plain; and too intereſted, to ſee their real friends and intereſt. I ſhall ſoon ſhew my ſincerity in one reſpect, if I live: for ſince I cannot have the woman I have ſeen and lik'd, I may determine perhaps on one I have never ſeen; and take a lady for a character only without a fortune (which I want not) ſince you and other friends are ſo kindly importunate, and preſſing, on this concern of mine.

But of this more when I ſee you next, with a thouſand acknowledgments and thanks, for the thorough friendſhip you have ſhown; and what is ſo truly friendſhip, that I almoſt think I injure it,

when I ſpeak of thanks and acknowledgments.

You will have me take all of this kind in another manner: and therefore on the ſame foot, I expect you ſhould take all that I have done or ever can do, without ceremony, and as

Your faithful friend,
and humble ſervant,
SHAFTESBURY.

LETTER XIII.

My dear friend, Beachworth, July 19. 1709.

I Can hardly be reconcil'd to you, for ſaying ſo much as you have done, to expreſs your concern for the diſappointment of my grand affair. I am not ſo ill a friend, nor have liv'd ſo little in the world, as not to know by experience, that a diſappointment in a friend's concern, is often of more trouble to one, than in one's own. And I was ſo ſatisfy'd this was your caſe, that I was willing to diminiſh the loſs, and make as ſlight of it as poſſible; the better to comfort you, and prevent your being too much concern'd at what had happen'd. As to the fortune, I might ſincerely have done it; but as to the lady, I own the loſs is great enough: for beſides her character and education, ſhe was the firſt I turn'd my thoughts upon, after the promiſe you had drawn from me the year before; when you join'd with

ſome

ſome friends of mine, in kindly preſſing me to think of the continuance of a family. Methinks now, I might be acquitted, after this attempt I have made. But you have taken occaſion from the ill ſucceſs of it, to prove how much more ſtill you are my friend, in deſiring to make the moſt of me, while I live, and keep what you can of me for memory-ſake afterwards. This is the kindeſt part in the world: and I can't bring my ſelf ſo much as to ſuppoſe a poſſibility of your flattering me. I have an eaſy faith in friendſhip. My friends may diſpoſe of me as they pleaſe, when they thus lay claim to me: and whilſt they find me of any uſe to them, or think I have any power ſtill to ſerve mankind or my country, in ſuch a ſphere as is yet left for me; I can live as happy in a crazy ſtate of health, and out of the way of pleaſures and diverſions, as if I enjoy'd 'em in the higheſt degree. If marriage can be ſuitable to ſuch a circumſtance of life, I am content to engage. I muſt do my beſt, to render it agreeable to thoſe I engage with: and my choice, I am ſenſible, ought for this reaſon to be as you have wiſely preſcrib'd for me. I muſt reſolve to ſacrifice other advantages, to obtain what is principal and eſſential in my caſe.

What other people will ſay of ſuch a match, I know not; nor what motive they will aſſign for it, when intereſt is ſet aſide. Love, I fear, will be ſcarce a tolerable pretence in ſuch a one as I am: and for a family, I have a brother ſtill alive,

whom

whom I may have ſtill ſome hopes of. What a weakneſs then wou'd it be thought in me, to marry with little or no fortune, and not in the higheſt degree of quality neither? Will it be enough that I take a breeder out of a good family, with a right education, fit for a mere wife; and with no advantages but ſimple innocence, modeſty, and the plain qualities of a good mother, and a good nurſe? This is as little the modern reliſh, as that old faſhion'd wife of *Horace*'s,

* *Sabina qualis, aut perufta ſolibus*
Pernicis uxor Appuli.

Can you or my friends, who preſs me to this, bear me out in it? See, if with all the notions of virtue (which you, more than any one, have help'd to propagate in this age) it be poſſible to make ſuch an affair paſs tolerable in the world! The experiment, however ſhall be made, if I live out this ſummer: and you ſhall hear me ſay, as the old Batchelor in the *Latin Menander*, with a little alteration,

† *Etſi hoc* moleſtum,—*atque alienum a vita mea*
Videtur; ſi vos tantopere iſtuc voltis, fiat.

You ſee upon what foot of friendſhip I treat you. Judge whether it be neceſſary for you hereafter to ſay much in order to convince me, what a friend you are: and for my own part, I have

* *Epod.* 2. *ver.* 41.
† *Terent. Adelp. Act.* 5. *Sc.* 8. *ver.* 21.

reduc'd

reduc'd you, I am confident, to the neceſſity of believing me, either the moſt inſincere of all men, or the moſt faithfully

Your friend and humble ſervant,

SHAFTESBURY.

I miſs'd our great friend, when I was laſt to viſit him at St. *James*'s. I intend for *Windſor* very ſoon, if I am able.

LETTER XIV.

Dear SIR, Reygate in Surry, Nov. 1. 1709.

IF I have had any real joy in my new ſtate, it was then chiefly when I receiv'd yours, that wiſh'd it me. The two or three friends, whom, beſides your ſelf, I pretend to call by that name, were ſo much parties to the affair, and ſo near me, that their part of congratulation was in a manner anticipated. Happily you were at a good diſtance, and *point de vue*, to ſee right: for as little truſt as I allow to the common friendſhip of the world, I am ſo preſumptuous in this caſe of a near and intimate friend; that inſtead of miſtruſting their affection, I am rather afraid of its rendering them too partial. The intereſt and part, which I believe them ready to take in my concern, makes me wiſh 'em ſometimes to ſee me (as they ſhou'd do themſelves) from a diſtance, and in a leſs favourable light. So that although

I have

I have had *Godfathers* to my match, I have not been *confirm'd* till I had your approbation: and though (thank God) I have had faith to believe my ſelf a good Chriſtian, without Epiſcopal confirmation; I ſhould have thought my ſelf an ill huſband, and but half marry'd, if I had not receiv'd your concluding ſentence, and friendly bleſſing. In good earneſt (for to you I am not aſham'd to ſay it) I have for many years known no other pleaſure, or intereſt, or ſatisfaction, in doing any thing; but as I thought it right, and what became me to my friends and country. Not that I think, I had the leſs pleaſure for this reaſon; but honeſty will always be thought a melancholly thing to thoſe, who go but half way into the reaſon of it; and are honeſt by chance, or by force of nature, not by reaſon and conviction. Were I to talk of marriage, and forc'd to ſpeak my mind plainly, and without the help of humour or raillery; I ſhou'd doubtleſs offend the moſt part of ſober marry'd people, and the ladies chiefly: for I ſhou'd in reality think I did wonders, in extolling the happineſs of my new ſtate, and the merit of my wife in particular; by ſaying, *that I verily thought my ſelf as happy a man now as ever.* And is not that ſubject enough of joy! What wou'd a man of ſenſe wiſh more? For my own part, if I find any ſincere joy, it's becauſe I promis'd my ſelf no other, than the ſatisfaction of my friends; who thought my family worth preſerving, and my ſelf worth nurſing in an indiffe-

different crazy ſtate, to which a wife (if a real good one) is a great help. Such a one I have found: and if by her help or care, I can regain a tolerable ſhare of health; you may be ſure it will be employ'd as you deſire, ſince my marriage it ſelf was but a means to that end.

I have deferr'd three or four poſts the anſwering yours, in expectation of reporting ſomething to you from our great lord, to whom I had lately ſent a letter; he having before let me know, that he wou'd ſoon write to me upon ſomething of moment: but as yet I have heard nothing. Only, as oft as he ſees a friend of ours, he enquires after me with particular kindneſs. I am now at ſuch a convenient diſtance from him, whether he be at St. *James's*, *Kenſington*, or *Windſor*; that, when the weather and wind ſerves for me, and I am tolerably well, I can in four or five hours driving be ready to attend him. Other attendance I am not, you know, capable of; nor can I expect ſuch a change of health, as that comes to: for ſincerely it depends on that alone. As proudly as I have carry'd my ſelf to other miniſters, I cou'd as willingly paſs a morning waiting at his levee, as any where elſe in the world.

When laſt I was with him at *Windſor*, you may be ſure, I cou'd not omit ſpeaking to him of your ſelf. The time I had with him was much interrupted by company. I know not how my intereſt, on ſuch a foot as this, is like to grow: but I am certain it ſhall not want any cultivating, which an honeſt man, and in my circumſtances, can

can possibly bestow upon it. If he has, or comes to have any good opinion of my capacity or knowledge, he must withal regard me in the choice I make of friends. And if it happens, as fortunately as it has done, that the chief friend I have, and the first whom I consider in publick affairs, was previously his own acquaintance and prov'd friend; one wou'd think, he shou'd afterwards come to set a higher value upon him: and since he cannot have me always near him, who gladly wou'd be so, he will oblige another, who is willing and able. And in reality, if at this time your coming up depends only on his wish (as you tell me) and the commands he may have for you; I shall much wonder if he forgets the advantage, or thinks he can dispense with your presence at such a time.

Your character of lord *Wharton* is very generous. I am glad to hear so well of him. If ever I expected any publick good, where virtue was wholly sunk, 'twas in his character: the most ambitious of any in my account, for this reason. But I have seen many proofs of this monstrous compound in him, of the very worst and best. A thousand kind thanks to you in my own and spouse's name, for your kind thoughts of seeing us. I add only my repeated service and good wishes, as

Your old and faithful friend,

And obliged humble servant,

SHAFTESBURY.

WO

Two LETTERS *from Sir* John Cropley.

LETTER I.

Dear SIR,

MY lord *Shaftesbury* has desir'd me, to make you his excuse at this time; and I am sure when I tell you what hinders him, you will be more pleas'd with a letter from me, than with any you have ever had from him. However, I know in a post or two he will do it himself; and tell you he is come acquainted with a person that has every qualification, but equality of fortune, to make her a suitable match. I believe no man ever had a surer prospect of his own and families happiness. I am only concern'd that so good a friend as you, are not here, to be that way a partaker with my self of this; and my lord laments it himself as much. His health, which is our best article, is become so good this weather, that he has been able to make his *Windsor* journey, without hurting himself: and the good impression your friend, my lord treasurer, made at first on my lord, daily increases. And I must own, since our friend has steer'd by our compass, and has taken this resolution at our request, and for his country's good, I wish it was as such told

your friend my lord treaſurer; and the more, ſince I find my lord *Shafteſbury* is deſirous of cultivating all ways the foot they now ſtand on. I wou'd * not have this paſs for a light act, which in it ſelf is ſo far from it. And I muſt ſay again, the choice is ſo good in all reſpects but that one, which my lord is very well able to diſpenſe with, that even ſome *Whig* friends that don't love him (whatever they pretend) for ſo often putting them out of countenance, and arraigning their conduct, will not be able to wound him at all: tho', as a ſincere friend to my lord *Shafteſbury*, I muſt own 'tis the only place I fear hurt from; and ſo, am the more willing to put you in mind of this fence againſt it. If your occaſions ſhou'd be ſo preſſing, to get the better of your inclinations, and keep you from doing this in the beſt way; yet I hope, in your correſponding with my lord treaſurer, you will remember this by the very firſt opportunity. My lord *Shafteſbury* is now at *Beachworth*. I ſhall be with him to-morrow: and Mr. *Mickleth-wayt*, who is now here, will have me add his humble reſpects. I can ſay, no man is with greater faithfulneſs, gratitude, and reſpect, than my ſelf,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt humble and
moſt obedient ſervant.

Red Lyon Square,
16th of Auguſt.

J. CROPLEY.

I won't

* *Meaning lord* Shaftesbury's *marriage.*

I won't pretend to give you news, but *Mick* ſays we have none. I beg my beſt reſpects and good wiſhes to your ſons.

LETTER II.

Dear SIR, *October* the 6th.

THE marriage of our friend muſt be my excuſe, for no ſooner acknowledging ſo kind a letter, as I about that time receiv'd from you. But really, as private and as little to do as there was done in it, yet it gave me more buſineſs than I expected. You muſt long 'ere this know, that his lady is a daughter of Mr. *Ewer* of *Hertfordſhire*, where that family have been ſeated ever ſince *Henry* the 7th's time. I gave you, I remember, a pretty full account of all, but her name, in my letter: ſo that I will only now ſay of it, that I believe no man ever had a wife, that his own life and happineſs wou'd go on more the ſame, and undiſturb'd in all parts of it, than he has. My lord, by going too ſoon unto his *Reygate* houſe, got a ſevere cold; but he's ſo perfectly recover'd, as to be much better than I have ſeen him in ſome years paſt. You wou'd now be as much rejoic'd, and indeed ſurpriz'd, to ſee the good ſigns of health in him; as you were concern'd, in ſeeing him laſt at *Chelſey*. The change is ſo great, that I don't doubt but the publick too, one way or other, will have good ſigns of

it. My lord treaſurer has moſt kindly writ to congratulate him; and my lord has writ a letter in anſwer, with more perſonal honour and eſteem, than I am ſure he ever writ a miniſter before. By the way, now I am ſpeaking of compliments, on this occaſion I hear a certain perſon, at your lord * lieutenant's, gave a pretty odd account of the lady, or rather of my lord; by ſaying, ſhe was far from being young. Indeed if that had been wanting in any match, it wou'd have made it a ſad affair. But ſhe is but twenty. So I can't but fancy, ſome odd wrong perſon muſt have been nam'd for him: or is it not a feature of the old leaven, a breaking out of ſome old *Whiggiſm*, for paſt ſins committed, that can never be forgiven? And this was more ſtrange, to make ſuch a deliberate act of his, and that he was ſo difficult to be brought to, paſs for a ſudden raſh one, when youth was alſo taken away. But ſome are ſo keen and envious of characters, as to be ſometimes pretty prepoſterous in their ſchemes to defame by. My lord is now with me, and enjoins me to give you his moſt faithful reſpects and thanks, for all your kind concern and good wiſhes. I am with unfeign'd reſpect and ſincerity,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt faithful, obedient,

humble ſervant,

J. CROPLEY,

* *At lord* Wharton's.

A

LETTER

Sent from ITALY,

With the *Notion* of the *Judgment of* HERCULES &c.

TO

My Lord * * * *

——————*Ante omnia Muſæ.*
Virg. Georg. Lib. ii.

BRITISH MUSEUM

A LETTER TO My Lord ***.

Sent with the *Notion* of the *Historical Draught* of the *Judgment of Hercules*.

My Lord,

THIS letter comes to your lordship, accompany'd with a small writing intitled A NOTION: for such alone can that piece deservedly be call'd, which aspires no higher than to the forming of a *project*, and that too in so vulgar a science as *painting*. But whatever the subject be, if it can prove any way entertaining to you, it will sufficiently answer my design. And if possibly it may have that good success, I shou'd have no ordinary opinion of my project; since I know how hard it wou'd be to give your lordship a real entertainment by any thing which was not in some respect worthy and useful.

On this account I must, by way of prevention, inform your lordship, that after I had conceiv'd my

my NOTION ſuch as you ſee it upon paper, I was not contented with this, but fell directly to work; and by the hand of a maſter-painter brought it into *practice*, and form'd a real *deſign*. This was not enough. I reſolv'd afterwards to ſee what effect it wou'd have, when taken out of mere black-and-white, into colours: and thus *a sketch* was afterwards drawn. This pleas'd ſo well, that being incourag'd by the *virtuoſi*, who are ſo eminent in this part of the world, I reſolv'd at laſt to engage my painter in the great work. Immediately a cloth was beſpoke of a ſutable dimenſion, and the figures taken as big or bigger than the common life; the ſubject being of the heroick kind, and requiring rather ſuch figures as ſhou'd appear above ordinary human ſtature.

Thus my NOTION, as light as it may prove in the *treatiſe*, is become very ſubſtantial in the *workmanſhip*. The piece is ſtill in hand; and like to continue ſo for ſometime. Otherwiſe the firſt draught or deſign ſhou'd have accompany'd the treatiſe; as the treatiſe does this letter. But the *deſign* having grown thus into *a sketch*, and the ſketch afterwards into *a picture*; I thought it fit your lordſhip ſhou'd either ſee the ſeveral pieces together, or be troubled only with that which was the beſt; as undoubtedly the great one muſt prove, if the maſter I employ ſinks not very much below himſelf in this performance.

Far ſurely ſhou'd I be, my lord, from conceiving any vanity or pride in amuſements of ſuch an inferior

inferior kind as theſe; eſpecially were they ſuch as they may naturally at firſt ſight appear. I pretend not here to apologize either for *them*, or for *my-ſelf*. Your lordſhip however knows, I have naturally ambition enough to make me deſirous of employing my-ſelf in buſineſs of a higher order: ſince it has been my fortune in publick affairs to act often in concert with you, and in the ſame views, on the intereſt of EUROPE and mankind. There was a time, and that a very early one of my life, when I was not wanting to my country, in this reſpect. But after ſome years of hearty labour and pains in this kind of workmanſhip, an unhappy breach in my health drove me not only from the ſeat of buſineſs, but forc'd me to ſeek theſe foreign climates; where, as mild as the *winters* generally are, I have with much ado liv'd out this *latter-one*; and am now, as your lordſhip finds, employing my-ſelf in ſuch eaſy ſtudies as are moſt ſutable to my ſtate of health, and to the genius of the country where I am confin'd.

This in the mean time I can, with ſome aſſurance, ſay to your lordſhip in a kind of ſpirit of prophecy, from what I have obſerv'd of the riſing genius of our nation, that if we live to ſee a peace any way anſwerable to that generous ſpirit with which this war was begun, and carry'd on, for our *own* liberty and that of EUROPE; the figure we are like to make abroad, and the increaſe of knowledg, induſtry and ſenſe at home, will render *united* BRITAIN the principal ſeat of arts; and by her politeneſs

liteneſs and advantages in this kind, will ſhew evidently, how much ſhe owes to thoſe counſels, which taught her to exert herſelf ſo reſolutely in behalf of the *common cauſe*, and that of her own *liberty*, and happy *conſtitution*, neceſſarily included.

I can my-ſelf remember the time, when, in reſpect of MUSICK, our reigning taſte was in many degrees inferior to the *French*. The long reign of luxury and pleaſure under king CHARLES the ſecond, and the foreign helps and ſtudy'd advantages given to *muſick* in a following reign, cou'd not raiſe our genius the leaſt in this reſpect. But when the ſpirit of the nation was grown more *free*, tho engag'd at that time in the fierceſt war, and with the moſt doubtful ſucceſs, we no ſooner began to turn our-ſelves towards *muſick*, and enquire what ITALY in particular produc'd, than in an inſtant we outſtrip'd our neighbours the FRENCH, enter'd into a genius far beyond theirs, and rais'd our-ſelves an *ear*, and *judgment*, not inferior to the beſt now in the world.

In the ſame manner, as to PAINTING. Tho we have as yet nothing of our own native growth in this kind worthy of being mention'd; yet ſince the publick has of late begun to expreſs a reliſh for ingravings, drawings, copyings, and for the original paintings of the chief *Italian* ſchools, (ſo contrary to the modern *French*) I doubt not that, in very few years, we ſhall make an equal progreſs in this other ſcience. And when our humour

turns

turns us to cultivate these designing arts, our genius, I am persuaded, will naturally carry us over the slighter amusements, and lead us to that higher, more serious, and noble part of *imitation*, which relates to *history*, *human-nature*, and *the chief degree or order of* BEAUTY; I mean that of the *rational* life, distinct from the merely *vegetable* and *sensible*, as in animals, or plants; according to those several degrees or orders of painting which your lordship will find suggested in this extemporary *notion* I have sent you.

As for ARCHITECTURE, 'tis no wonder if so many noble designs of this kind have miscarry'd amongst us; since the genius of our nation has hitherto been so little turn'd this way, that thro' several reigns we have patiently seen the noblest publick buildings perish (if I may say so) under the hand of one single court-architect; who, if he had been able to profit by experience, wou'd long since, at our expence, have prov'd the greatest master in the world. But I question whether our patience is like to hold much longer. The devastation so long committed in this kind, has made us begin to grow rude and clamorous at the hearing of a new palace spoilt, or a new design committed to some rash or impotent pretender.

'Tis the good fate of our nation in this particular, that there remain yet two of the noblest subjects for architecture; our prince's *palace*, and our *house of parliament*. For I can't but fancy that when *Whitehall* is thought of, the neighbouring

bouring *lords* and *commons* will at the ſame time be plac'd in better chambers and apartments, than at preſent; were it only for majeſty's ſake, and as a magnificence becoming the perſon of the prince, who here appears in full ſolemnity. Not do I fear that when theſe new ſubjects are attempted, we ſhou'd miſcarry as groſly as we have done in others before. Our *ſtate*, in this reſpect, may prove perhaps more fortunate than our *church*, in having waited till a national taſte was form'd, before theſe edifices were undertaken. But the zeal of the nation cou'd not, it ſeems, admit ſo long a delay in their eccleſiaſtical ſtructures, particularly their *metropolitan*. And ſince a zeal of this ſort has been newly kindled amongſt us, 'tis like we ſhall ſee from afar the many ſpires ariſing in our great city, with ſuch haſty and ſudden growth, as may be the occaſion perhaps that our immediate reliſh ſhall be hereafter cenſur'd, as retaining much of what artiſts call the *Gothick* kind.

Hardly, indeed, as the publick now ſtands, ſhou'd we bear to ſee a *Whitehall* treated like a *Hampton Court*, or even a new cathedral like St. PAUL's. Almoſt every one now becomes concern'd, and intereſts himſelf in ſuch publick ſtructures. Even thoſe pieces too are brought under the common cenſure, which, tho rais'd by private men, are of ſuch a grandure and magnificence, as to become national ornaments. The ordinary man may build his cottage, or the plain gentleman his country-houſe according as he fancys: but when

a great

a great man builds, he will find little quarter from the publick, if inſtead of a beautiful pile, he reiſes, at a vaſt expence, ſuch a falſe and counterfeit piece of magnificence, as can be juſtly arraign'd for its deformity, by ſo many knowing men in art, and by the whole *people*, who, in ſuch a conjuncture, readily follow their opinion.

In reality *the people* are no ſmall partys in this *cauſe*. Nothing moves ſucceſsfully without 'em. There can be no PUBLICK, but where they are included. And without a *publick voice*, knowingly guided and directed, there is nothing which can raiſe a true ambition in the artiſt; nothing which can exalt the genius of the workman, or make him emulous of after-fame, and of the approbation of his *country*, and of *poſterity*. For with *theſe* he naturally, as a *freeman*, muſt take part: in *theſe* he has a paſſionate concern, and intereſt, rais'd in him by the ſame zeale of *liberty*, the ſame *laws* and *government*, by which his property, and the rewards of his pains and induſtry are ſecur'd to him, and to his generation after him.

Every thing co-operates, in ſuch a *ſtate*, towards the improvement of *art* and *ſcience*. And for the *deſigning arts* in particular, ſuch as *architecture*, *painting*, and *ſtatuary*, they are in a manner link'd together. The taſte of one kind brings neceſſarily that of the others along with it. When the *free* ſpirit of a nation turns it ſelf this way, judgments are form'd; criticks ariſe; the publick eye and ear improve; a right taſte pre-

vails, and in a manner forces its way. Nothing is ſo improving, nothing ſo natural, ſo *con-genial* to the liberal arts, as that reigning liberty and high ſpirit of a people, which from the habit of judging in the higheſt matters for themſelves, makes 'em freely judg of other ſubjects, and enter thorowly into the characters as well of *men* and *manners*, as of the *products* or *works* of men, in art and ſcience. So much, my lord, do we owe to the excellence of our national conſtitution, and legal monarchy; happily fitted for us, and which alone cou'd hold together ſo mighty a people; all ſharers (tho at ſo far a diſtance from each other) in the government of *themſelves*; and meeting under *one* head in one vaſt *metropolis*; whoſe enormous growth, however cenſurable in other reſpects, is actually a cauſe that workmanſhip and arts of ſo many kinds ariſe to ſuch perfection.

What encouragement our higher powers may think fit to give theſe growing arts, I will not pretend to gueſs. This I know, that 'tis ſo much for their advantage and intereſt to make themſelves the chief parties in the cauſe, that I wiſh no court or miniſtry, beſides a truely virtuous and wiſe one, may ever concern themſelves in the affair. For ſhou'd they do ſo, they wou'd in reality do more harm than good; ſince 'tis not the nature of a court (ſuch as courts generally are) to improve, but rather corrupt *a taſte*. And what is in the beginning ſet wrong by their example, is hardly ever afterwards recoverable in the genius of a nation.

Content

Content therefore I am, my lord, that BRITAIN ſtands in this reſpect as ſhe now does. Nor can one, methinks, with juſt reaſon regret her having hitherto made no greater advancement in theſe affairs of art. As her *conſtitution* has grown, and been eſtabliſh'd, ſhe has in proportion fitted herſelf for other improvements. There has been no anticipation in the caſe. And in this ſurely ſhe muſt be eſteem'd wiſe, as well as happy: that ere ſhe attempted to raiſe her-ſelf any other taſt or reliſh, ſhe ſecur'd her-ſelf a right one in *government*. She has now the advantage of beginning in other matters, on a new foot. She has her *models* yet to ſeek, her *ſcale* and *ſtandard* to form, with deliberation and good choice. Able enough ſhe is at preſent to ſhift for her-ſelf; however abandon'd or helpleſs ſhe has been left by thoſe whom it became to aſſiſt her. Hardly, indeed, cou'd ſhe procure a ſingle *academy* for the training of her youth in exerciſes. As good ſoldiers as we are, and as good horſes as our climate affords our princes, rather than expend their treaſure this way, have ſuffer'd our youth to paſs into a foreign nation, to learn to ride. As for other *academys*, ſuch as thoſe for painting, ſculpture, or architecture, we have not ſo much as heard of the propoſal; whilſt the prince of our rival nation raiſes academys, breeds youth, and ſends rewards and penſions into foreign countrys, to advance the intereſt and credit of his own. Now if, notwithſtanding the induſtry and pains of this foreign

court, and the ſupine unconcernedneſs of our own: the national taſte however riſes, and already ſhews it ſelf in many reſpects beyond that of our ſo highly-aſſiſted neighbours; what greater proof can there be of the ſuperiority of genius in one of theſe nations above the other?

'Tis but this moment that I chance to read in an article of one of the gazettes from PARIS, that 'tis reſolv'd at court to eſtabliſh a new *academy* for political affairs. "In it the preſent chief miniſter is to preſide; having under him ſix academiſts, *douez des talens neceſſaires*——no perſon to be receiv'd under the age of twenty five. A thouſand livres penſion for each ſcholar——able maſters to be appointed for teaching them the neceſſary ſciences, and inſtructing them in the treatys of peace and alliances, which have been formerly made——the members to aſſemble three times a week——*c'eſt de ce ſeminaire* (ſays the writer) *qu'on tirera les ſecretaires d'ambaſſade; qui par degrez pourront monter a de plus hauts emplois.*"

I muſt confeſs, my lord, as great an admirer as I am of theſe regular inſtitutions, I can't but look upon *an academy for miniſters* as a very extraordinary eſtabliſhment: eſpecially in ſuch a monarchy as FRANCE, and at ſuch a conjuncture as the preſent. It looks as if the miniſters of that court had diſcover'd lately ſome new methods of negotiation, ſuch as their predeceſſors RICHELIEU and MAZARINE never thought of; or that,

on

on the contrary, they have found themſelves ſo declin'd, and at ſuch a loſs in the management of this preſent treaty, as to be forc'd to take their leſſon from ſome of thoſe miniſters with whom they treat: a reproach, of which, no doubt, they muſt be highly ſenſible.

But 'tis not my deſign here, to entertain your lordſhip with any reflections upon politicks, or the methods which the FRENCH may take to raiſe themſelves *new* miniſters, or *new* generals; who may prove a better match for us than hitherto, whilſt we held our *old*. I will only ſay to your lordſhip on this ſubject of *academys*; that indeed I have leſs concern for the deficiency of ſuch a one as this, than of any other which cou'd be thought of, for ENGLAND; and that as for a ſeminary, of *ſtateſmen*, I doubt not but, without this extraordinary help, we ſhall be able, out of our *old* ſtock; and the common courſe of buſineſs, conſtantly to furniſh a ſufficient number of well-qualify'd perſons to ſerve upon occaſion, either at home, or in our foreign treatys; as often as ſuch perſons accordingly qualify'd ſhall duly, honeſtly, and *bona fide* be requir'd to ſerve.

I return therefore to my *virtuoſo* ſcience; which being my chief amuſement in this place and circumſtance, your lordſhip has by it a freſh inſtance that I can never employ my thoughts with ſatisfaction on any ſubject, without making you a party. For even this very NOTION had its riſe chiefly from the converſation of a certain day, which

I had the happineſs to paſs a few years ſince in the country with your lordſhip. 'Twas there you ſhew'd me ſome ingravings, which had been ſent you from ITALY. One in particular I well remember; of which the ſubject was the very ſame with that of my written NOTION inclos'd. But by what hand it was done, or after what maſter, or how executed, I have quite foregot. It was the ſummer ſeaſon, when you had receſs from buſineſs. And I have accordingly calculated this *epiſtle* and *project* for the ſame receſs and leiſure. For by the time this can reach ENGLAND, the ſpring will be far advanc'd, and the national affairs in a manner over, with thoſe who are not in *the immediate adminiſtration*.

Were *that* indeed your lordſhips lot, at preſent; I know not whether in regard to my country I ſhou'd dare throw ſuch amuſements as theſe in your way. Yet even in this caſe, I wou'd venture to ſay however, in defenſe of my project, and of the *cauſe of painting*; that cou'd my young hero come to your lordſhip as well repreſented as he might have been, either by the hand or a MARAT or a JORDANO, (the maſters who were in being, and in repute, when I firſt travel'd here in ITALY) the *picture* it-ſelf, whatever the *treatiſe* prov'd, wou'd have been worth notice, and might have become a preſent worthy of our court, and prince's *palace*; eſpecially were it ſo bleſs'd as to lodge within it a royal iſſue of her majeſty's. Such a piece of furniture might well fit the gallery, or

hall

hall of exercises, where our young princes shou'd learn their usual lessons. And to see VIRTUE in this garb and action, might perhaps be no slight memorandum hereafter to *a royal youth*, who shou'd one day come to undergo this trial himself; on which his own happiness, as well as the fate of EUROPE and of the world, wou'd in so great a measure depend.

This, my lord, is making (as you see) the most I can of my *project*, and setting off my amusements with the best colour I am able; that I may be the more excusable in communicating them to your lordship, and expressing thus, with what zeal I am,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's

Naples, March 6, N. S. 1712.

most faithful

humble servant,

SHAFTESBURY.

LETTERS
OF THE
Earl of SHAFTESBURY,

Taken from the Account of his Life in the *General Dictionary*.

An extract of a letter to * **Thomas Stringer *Esq;***

London, Feb. the 15th 1695.

I Will not trouble you any farther now, nor indeed have I time. We have got a bill to be engroſſed, which lays an incapacity on the Elector (as the late paſſed act does on the Elected) in caſe of corruption, meat, drink, *&c.* and which obliges the knights of the ſhire to have 500 l. a year, or the inheritance of it, as freehold within the county, and a burgeſs 200 l. a year ſomewhere at leaſt in England on the ſame terms. You could, I believe, ſcarcely imagine with yourſelf, who theſe are in the world, or who they are in the houſe, who oppoſe this, and all other ſuch bills as this might and main; and who they are, that are condemned of flying in the face of the government, as they call it, by being

* A gentleman who had held an office under the lord chancellor Shaftesbury.

for

for such things as these are, and pressing such hard things on the prerogative or court. In short, you would hardly believe, that your poor friend, that now writes to you, has sentence (and bitter sentence too) every day passing upon him, for going, as you may be sure he goes and ever will go on such occasions as these; whatever party it be, that is in, or out at court, that is in possession of the places, and afraid of losing their daily bread by not being servile enough, or that are out of places, and think, by crossing the court, and siding with good and popular things against it, to get into those places of profit and management. No more. My kind service to Mrs. Stringer, and my service too to your son.

I am

your sincere friend, &c.

A. Ashley.

A letter to the Earl of Oxford,

My Lord, *Reygate, March* 29, 1711.

THE honour you have done me in many kind inquiries after my health, and the favour you have shewn me lately, in forwarding the only means I have left for my recovery, by trying the air of a warmer climate, obliges me e'er I leave England to return your lordship my most humble thanks and acknowledgments in this manner,

ner, ſince I am unable to do it in a better. I might perhaps, my lord, do injuſtice to my ſelf, having had no opportunity of late years to pay my particular reſpects to you, if I ſhould attempt any otherwiſe to compliment your lordſhip on the late honours you have received, than by appealing to the early acquaintance and ſtrict correſpondence I had once the honour to maintain with you and your family, for which I had been bred almoſt from my infancy to have the higheſt regard. Your lordſhip well knows my principles and behaviour from the firſt hour I engaged in any publick concern, and with what zeal I ſpent ſome years of my life in ſupporting your intereſt, which I thought of greater moment to the publick, than my own, or family's could ever be. What the natural effects are of private friendſhip ſo founded, and what the conſequence of different opinions intervening, your lordſhip, who is ſo good a judge of men and things, can better reſolve with yourſelf, than I can poſſibly ſuggeſt. And being ſo knowing in friends, (of whom your lordſhip has acquired ſo many) you can recollect how thoſe ties or obligations have been hitherto preſerved towards you, and whoſe friendſhips, affections, and principles you may for the future beſt depend upon in all circumſtances and variations public and private. For my own part, I ſhall ſay only, that I very ſincerely wiſh you all happineſs, and can with no man living congratulate more heartily on what I account real honour and

proſperity.

prosperity. Your conduct of the public will be the just earnest and insurance of your greatness and power; and I shall then chiefly congratulate with your lordship on your merited honours and advancement, when by the happy effects it appears evidently in the service of what cause, and for the advantage of what interest they were acquired and employed. Had I been to wish by what hands the public should have been served, the honour of the first part (your lordship well knows) had fallen to you long since. If others, from whom I least hoped, have done greatly and as became them, I hope, if possible, you will still exceed all they have performed, and accomplish the great work so gloriously begun and carried on for the rescue of liberty, and the deliverance of Europe and mankind. And in this presumption I cannot but remain with the same zeal and sincerity as ever,

My Lord, &c.

A letter to the Lord Godolphin.

My Lord, *Reygate, May 27*, 1711.

BEING about to attempt a journey to Italy to try what a warmer climate (If I am able to reach it) may do towards the restoring me a little breath and life, it is impossible for me to stir hence, till I have acquitted myself of my respects the best I can to your lordship, to whom alone, had

had I [illegible] enough to make my [illegible] [illegible] a day's attendance in town, I [illegible] myself sufficiently happy in my work [illegible] health. I am indeed, my lord, little able to render services of any kind; nor do I pretend to offer myself in such a capacity to any one, except your lordship only. But could I flatter myself that e'er I parted hence, or while I passed through France, or stay'd in Italy, I could any where, in the least trifle, or in the highest concern, render any manner of service to your lordship, I should be proud of such a commission. [illegible] I am, [illegible] to your honour and name (if that can receive ever any advantage from such an hand as mine) your public as well as private merit will not pass unremembred into whatever region or climate I am transferred. No one has a more thorough knowledge in that kind than myself, nor no one there is, who on this account has a juster right to profess himself, as I shall ever do, with highest obligation and most constant [illegible]

My Lord,

your Lordship's most faithful and most

obedient humble servant,

SHAFTESBURY.

F I N I S.

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